A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE MAHĀVASTU

BHIKKHU TELWATTE RAHULA

Rs. 90

The MV (Mahāvastu) is one of the Canonical works of the Mahāsaṅghikas (Lokottaravādins). Written in Buddhist Sanskrit it has been preserved by the Mahāyānists and the Tāntric Buddhists who regard it as part of their scriptures. A number of scholars headed by Oldenberg have contributed a series of articles on the work but no scholar has so far undertaken a thorough study of the same.

The MV is a valuable compilation from various sources of stories, legends and traditions about the Buddha, his doctrine and his previous births. Many of these stories, especially those related to the first part of the Master's life, represent the older stratum of tradition preserved in Pāli, Sanskrit, Siṁhala, Tibetan and Chinese.

The aim of the present work is to present a comprehensive and an analytical study of the Mahāvastu and find its relation with the ancient Buddhist tradition and settle its place in the multiform literature of the Buddhists.

The book is divided into five chapters. *Ch. I* presents an outline of the MV., discussing the subject matter, sources, time, language and style. It also deals with the doctrine of the Bodhisattva, the concept of ten Bhūmis and the MV's relation with Theravāda and Mahāyāna schools. *Ch. II* discusses the relation of MV with the ancient Buddhist tradition as preserved in the Jātaka Stories. *Ch. III* deals with the Master's life and his mission. *Ch. IV* describes the social conditions in India as depicted in the MV. *Ch. V* recapitulates the ideas stated in the foregoing chapters.

This study, conducted on a comparative basis, is documented with Notes, Bibliography and Index.

A CRITICAL STUDY
OF
THE MAHĀVASTU

A CRITICAL STUDY
OF
THE MAHĀVASTU

BHIKKHU TELWATTE RAHULA

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
Delhi :: Varanasi :: Patna

© MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

Indological Publishers and Booksellers

Head Office : BUNGALOW ROAD, JAWAHAR NAGAR, DELHI-7

Branches : 1. CHOWK, VARANASI-1 (U.P.)

2. ASHOK RAJPATH, PATNA-4 (BIHAR)

294.382
R129c

First Edition : Delhi, 1978

Price : Rs. 90

Printed in India

BY SHANTILAL JAIN AT SHRI JAINENDRA PRESS, A-45, PHASE-I, INDUSTRIAL AREA, NARAINA, NEW DELHI-28, AND PUBLISHED BY NARENDRA PRAKASH JAIN, FOR MOTILAL BANARSIDASS, BUNGALOW ROAD, JAWAHAR NAGAR, DELHI-7

To
the sacred memory of
my preceptor
Ven'ble Telwatte Medhāśrī Āryavaṁśa Mahāthera,
Saddharma-vācaspati, Sāhityācārya,
Mahānāyaka of the Kalyāṇīvaṁśa Chapter,
Principal, Mangala Pirivena, Beruwala, Sri Lanka
(1873-1962)

FOREWORD

The *Mahāvastu*, though not strictly a Mahāyāna text, is written in Buddhist Sanskrit and has been preserved by Mahāyānists and Tantric Buddhists, and is regarded as part of their scriptures. It is in fact a compilation from various sources of stories, legends and traditions about the Buddha, his doctrine, and his previous births. The text as it stands contains a wide range of material, some of it very ancient, and some showing considerable elaboration, and it is unlikely that it existed in anything like its present form until the early centuries of the Christian era.

This text, replete with linguistic and exegetical difficulties, has been subjected to a thorough analysis, chiefly from the point of view of its content, by my friend Reverend T. Rahula. His excellent study, which is quite a lengthy one, throws light on many aspects of early Buddhism in India, and of Indian culture at the time of the text's compilation. Specialists in Buddhism will welcome the three lengthy chapters which form the main body of the work, covering the text, its relation to the earlier Buddhist tradition, and its version of the legend of the life of the Buddha respectively. The general historian will find much of interest in the fourth chapter, which deals with the social conditions which the *Mahāvastu* reflects.

I therefore have much pleasure in introducing this valuable study of an important text, a work of scholarship by one who is himself an ordained Buddhist monk, and understands Buddhism 'from the inside'.

A. L. Basham

CONTENTS

FOREWORD vii

CHAPTER

1 An Outline of The Mahāvastu 1-79

Section I

(*A*) The Mahāvastu, Our Text 1

(*B*) Subject-matter and the main theme 6

(*C*) Sources and Time 13

(*D*) Language and Style 16

Section II

(*A*) The Doctrine (*dharmavinaya*) as known to the Mahāvastu 24

(*B*) The Bodhisattva Concept and the ten Bhūmis 49

(*C*) Relation with Theravāda and Mahāyāna 69

2 Relation with the Ancient Buddhist Tradition 80-180

Section I

The Navāṅga Division of the Scripture 80

Section II

Jātaka Stories 90

Section III

Legend and History

(*A*) Legends 120

(*B*) Persons—Śārīputra And Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Mahā-Kāśyapa, Rāhulabhadra, Śākyan Members of the Saṃgha, Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa; the Five Monks at Ṛṣipatana, Yaśoda and Others 124

Section IV
Some Mythological and Ideological Aspects
(*A*) Hells and Heavens 153
(*B*) Non-human Beings 169
(*C*) The Universal Monarch 174
(*D*) Māra 177

3 The Buddha—His Life and Mission as Recorded in The Mahāvastu 181-285
Lack of a Complete Biography in the Canon 181
Departure from Tuṣita Heaven 184
Birth 195
In Kapilavastu 202
Asita's Visit and Prediction 206
Childhood and Youth 210
Siddhārtha's Life in The Palace 217
The Great Renunciation 231
In Search of Truth 245
The Practice of Mortification 252
Enlightenment 259
After Enlightenment 263
Setting the Wheel of Law in Motion 267
Subsequent Conversions and the Spread of the Message 276
Visit to Rājagṛha and Kapilavastu 280

4 Social Conditions in India as Depicted in the Mahāvastu 286-356

Section I. The Universe, Jambūdvīpa and its Divisions 286

Section II. Administration and Social Structure 304
(*A*) Polity—the King, Other Officials, Punishments, Republican Governments 304
(*B*) Social Structure—Caste System, Life in Cities and Villages 319

(C) Position of the Woman 326

Section III : Economic Conditions
(A) Agriculture 332
(B) Other Occupations, Arts and Crafts 334
(C) Trade and Commerce 339

Section IV. Household Life as Lived in the Mahāvastu Society 343
(A) Infancy 343
(B) Education 344
(C) Marriage 345

Section V : Foods and Drinks; Entertainment
(A) Foods and Drinks 348
(B) Entertainment 352

5 Conclusion 357-435
Notes 360
Bibliography 425
Index 433

INTRODUCTION

Some fifteen years ago, while I was still an undergraduate in the Vidyālaṅkāra University of Ceylon, Ven'ble Siri Sivali, Professor of Buddhist Civilization, drew my attention to the vast field of Buddhist studies, particularly Buddhist Sanskrit works representing more than one school of Buddhist thought. My interest in Buddhist Sanskrit literature has continuously been growing since then, and I decided, as I became more and more acquainted with that branch of Buddhist heritage, to continue my studies in that direction.

It is with this view that I selected the Mahāvastu, well-known as one of the survived canonical works of the Mahāsāṃghikas (Lokottaravādins) as the basis of my study. The Mahāvastu was edited and published for the first time by the renowned French savant, Emile Senart, nearly a century ago. The manifold significance of this voluminous compilation is fully acknowledged by scholars, and a number of scholars headed by Oldenberg, Barth, Windisch, Winternitz, and Vallée Poussin have contributed a series of articles on the work, throwing light on its linguistic and literary aspects. Dr B. C. Law's monograph, A Study of the Mahāvastu, presents a summary of the work and we are indebted to J. J. Jones for his English translation of the text. Though containing many misinterpretations and fanciful explanations of terms, this translation deserves appreciation. Dr Radha Govinda Basak has reproduced Senart's edition with a Bengali translation. Many other scholars including Bapat, Lamotte, and Edgerton have referred to the Mahāvastu in their works.

Still, no scholar has so far undertaken a thorough study of the Mahāvastu, and as such ,"it has the fascination", as A. B. Keith has remarked many years ago, "that almost everything that is definite has yet to be discovered regarding it." But this is by no means to claim that my study on the Mahāvastu is a complete undertaking in itself or that everything about the text has been studied in the present work. On the contrary, I confined my research work only to some of the interesting

aspects of the Mahāvastu, leaving aside many others, *e.g.*, matters of linguistic and chronological interest. I tried to give an outline of the work, and then find its relation with the ancient Buddhist tradition which is presented to us in many languages including Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhala, Tibetan and Chinese. As the text deals to a great extent with the life story of the Buddha, I made an attempt to present a sketch of the Buddha's life and mission as recorded in the Mahāvastu. Some of these biographical accounts represent a comparatively older stratum of the tradition, and are evidently derived from a more reliable and genuine source, whereas the other portions, including the accounts of Enlightenment, bear witness to the fact that the text had still not assumed its final form when poetical and legendary elements were becoming more and more prominent in the biography of the Buddha. It is true that the biographical accounts in the Mahāvastu deal only with the first part of the Buddha's career, that is to say his birth, Great Renunciation, Enlightenment and early missionary activities. But these accounts are perfect in the sense that they present a more or less complete narrative regarding the Master's life as the ancient tradition chose to preserve. I also utilized in this study the other sources which deal with the relevant phases of the Buddha's life, and my study in this direction has been conducted on a comparative basis. After I finished writing, I found two biographies on the Buddha published from Sri Lanka, one by Dr K. D. P. Wickramasinghe and the other by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli. I regret that I could not refer to them in my study.

Apart from this, I tried to explore how far the text contributes to our knowledge regarding the ancient Indian society. Being a voluminous compilation, the Mahāvastu is particularly significant as a source of information in a study of Indian society in pre-Christian and early Christian eras.

My work is intended to be an attempt to present, at least partly, a comprehensive and analytical study of the Mahāvastu. The present volume may equally bring to light the relation of the Mahāvastu with the ancient Buddhist tradition and its place in the multiform literature of the Buddhists.

As the book was written more than six years ago, I find in it much that I would like to re-write. However, due to various commitments, this was not possible, for the time being.

I express my sincere thanks to Dr R. C. Pandeya and Dr B. Jinananda, formerly Heads of the Department of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University, under whose competent guidance and supervision this research was conducted. I am wholeheartedly grateful to both of them.

It is also my pleasant duty to express my devotion to the sacred memory of my respected preceptor (*upajjhāya*) the late venerable Paṇḍitaśiromaṇi Telwatte Medhāśrī Āryavaṃśa Mahāthera, the Mahānāyaka of the Kalyāṇīvaṃśa Chapter, Principal, Mangala Pirivena, Beruwela, Sri Lanka, and to that of my beloved father, Mr Anthony R. de Silva of Telwatta, Sri Lanka, who died while this work was in progress.

And finally I deem it obligatory on my part to claim my indebtedness to all those who helped me in many ways. I cannot overestimate the help and inspiration I received from the venerable Professor Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan. It was due to his profound help and inspiration that I could come to India for further studies, and it is again due to his fatherly affection as well as unbound stimulation and benefaction that I could overcome many a number of difficulties.

I am thankful to Dr V. K. R. V. Rao, the then Education Minister, Government of India, for his kind help which financially enabled me to carry out my research work. I am also grateful to the Ministry of Education, Government of India. Among others whom I should especially remember are Mr Raj Narain Mehrotra of Kanpur (presently in Bombay), and, Mr C. A. Gunawardhana, the then First Secretary, Ceylon High Commission, New Delhi, and Dr Tissa Rajapatirana, Senior Lecturer, Dept. of South Asian & Buddhist Studies, the Australian National University, Canberra, who went through the MS. and made many valuable suggestions.

I am also thankful to the publishers who have taken care to remove many typing mistakes in the MS.

Telwatte Rahula

Dept. of Indian Studies
University of Melbourne
Parkville, Australia 3052

ERRATUM

The first sixteen pages of the book have been printed, by mistake, from an unrevised MS. where the abbreviation for Mahāvastu appears as *Mtu*. Due to this confusion, notes 92 and 93 in the text are not indicated.

CHAPTER 1

AN OUTLINE OF THE MAHĀVASTU

SECTION I

(A) *The Mahāvastu, Our Text*

The Mahāvastu (*-avadāna*)[1] claims to be the first book of the Vinaya Piṭaka according to the Lokottaravādins, a sect of the Ārya-mahāsāṅghika school of the Middle Country.[2] The Lokottaravādins, or Supramundanists were thus known due to their peculiar theory that the Buddha was by nature supramundane (*lokottara*), incomparable with human character.[3] They form, as the historical tradition and they themselves tell us, a branch of the Mahāsāṅghika school.[4]

The Mahāvastu (henceforth abbreviated as Mtu.), the name of our authority, has been a point of diverse opinion and ambiguous explanation, a phenomenon which is due partly to the heterogeneous character of the subject-matter and partly to the confused way of treating the main theme of the work.

The name is literally translated as the 'Great Subject'[5] or the 'Great Story'.[6] That is to say, the life story of the Buddha. Beal renders the Chinese equivalent of the 'Mahāvastu' (Tasse) as "great thing or compilation".[7] Vastu conveys a variety of meanings such as 'any really existing or abiding substance or essence, thing, object or article; wealth, property; the thing in question, matter, affair, circumstance; subject, subject-matter, contents, theme (of a speech etc.), plot (of a drama or poem); or the pith or substance of anything'.[8] As regards the application of the word as the title of a book, it may well be understood to mean 'a topic, point of discipline or doctrine, and a story'.[9] In fact, the word is seen generally adopted in Pali works in the sense of 'a story or an incident' or 'a point of discipline or controversy'.[10] Accordingly, the title of our text seems to stand for a work embodying the points and subjects of religious importance which gave shape of a 'Great Account' to the singular but not uniform compilation in which

they were incorporated. The text appears to prefer to call itself as 'the repository of the *dharma*, the bringer of great welfare to the multitude, and full of great knowledge, a treatise based on the Teaching of the Buddha".[11] How far this evaluation is justifiable is a matter of speculation, and the text evidently dedicates itself, as scholars have rightly pointed out,[12] much more to the biographical accounts of the Buddha than to his Teaching. Barth, followed by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, has recognised the Mtu. as 'a huge confused compilation of legends on the origins of Buddhism, on the persons of its founder and his first disciples'.[13] "As a matter of fact", writes J.J. Jones, "The Mahāvastu is a collection of practically all the history, quasi-history and legends (*avadāna*) relating to the Buddha that passed current in the long period during which it was compiled."[14] Bournouf speaks of the Mtu. as "volumineux receuil de légendes relatives á la vie religieuse de śākya".[15]

An extensive canonical compilation as it is, the Mtu. cannot claim to have maintained throughout the work some uniformity even concerning its title, the variant forms of which are found in different contexts. The title reads as 'Śrī Mahāvastu-avadāna',[16] 'Śrī Mahāvastu-avadāna-kathā',[17] 'Śrī Mahāvastu',[18] or 'Mahāvastu',[19] usually occurring in the colophons found at the end of some jātakas and sūtras, but many other jātakas and sūtras, e.g. Kāka jātaka (iii.129.17) and Mahāgovindīya-sūtra (iii.224.9) do not mention any name at all. The term *vastu* is frequently employed by the compilers to denote a story,[20] but the usage of the word *avadāna* is so commonplace in the Mtu. that it can easily be concluded that the work was regarded in its final form as belonging to the *avadāna* class of Buddhist literature. Taking into account the fact that the Mtu. so frequently adopts the word *vastu* to signify an *avadāna*, it may be surmised that it was taken by the authors as an equivalent to *avadāna*. Can it be possible that the name 'Mahāvastu' is suggesting something like 'Mahā-avadāna?'[21]

That a treatise which has been categorically declared to be a part of the Vinaya should embody *avadānas*, which are merely fabulous stories and biographical narratives of less importance may at first seem somewhat curious, but the phenomenon becomes intelligible when we take into account the fact that the *avadāna* class of literature originally belonged to the Vinaya

itself.[22] Cowell and Neil, who edited the Divyāvadāna, also expressed the same opinion in their introduction to that edition.[23] This is proved beyond doubt by the act that many Vinaya treatises of Northern Buddhism incorporate *avadāna* stories. Some of these *avadānas*, e.g. the story of Sudhanu and the Kinnarī, seem to have been derived from an identical *fons et origio* which had been the common property of different schools of Buddhism.

Avadāna (Pali. *apadāna*) forms the seventh of the twelve classes (*aṅga*) of the Mahāyānic Scripture.[24] This particular class of Buddhist literature has been the subject of many scholastic studies whence we fortunately need not grope in darkness for satisfactory definition and details of *avadānas*. The term *avadāna* primarily denotes "illustrious actions, heroic deeds, or a narrative of such actions and deeds".[25] We know from other sources that there is a good number of collections of *avadānas*,[26] of which the Divyā. and Av. Śat. are counted as the most prominent ones. "The *avadāna* type of literature", remarks P. L. Vaidya, "is closely related to the *Jātaka* literature with this difference that *Jātaka* stories usually refer to the past life of the Buddha as Bodhisattva, while in *avadānas* Buddha himself plays an important role".[27] It is important to remember in this context that the Mtu., which is generally passed as an *avadāna*, contains a considerable number of stories which are perfect *avadānas* with all features characteristic of that class of Scripture.

An *avadāna* may be a story based on the Buddha's prophecies (*vyākaraṇa*) of future Buddha-hood or Pratyeka-Buddhahood, his anterior births, the present and past stories of *arhats* or on unhappy consequences of moral transgressions in one's former existences. Whatever the theme and moral of the story may be, an *avadāna* is not barred from being related to the Vinaya, inasmuch as it 'continually brings in some reference to a point of discipline'.[28] The Mtu. may not have originally been intended to serve as a depository for preserving *avadānas*, but the present form of the text can reasonably claim to represent the *avadāna* literature. "The compilers indeed came very near", to quote J. J. Jones, "achieving a mere collection of *avadānas* much resembling the collection made by the Sarvāstivādins and known as the Divyāvadāna."[29]

It would seem useful to investigate the relation of our text to the Vinaya before we proceed to the subject-matter of the Mtu. The text claims, as we have already noticed, to be part of the Vinaya, but it is certainly disappointing to find that the compilers soon forgot their objective, if they really intended to deal with the matters pertaining to the Code of Discipline. It is not by mere chance that the colophon at the end of the composition makes no allusion to the Vinaya at all.[30] It has been pointed out, statistically speaking, that not more than twenty out of thirteen hundred pages are devoted to disciplinary matters.[31] Now this is no doubt a calculation as much close to reality as one can expect any such assertion to be. The phenomenon has often been the target of critics. "Although it is styled a Vinaya", writes Jones, "it almost seems as if, in the course of the period of its compilation, all the elements characteristic of a Vinaya were deliberately omitted".[32] Dr. Nalinākṣa Dutt also thinks on the same lines as he observes that 'apart from a few rules relating to ordination, it has nothing to do with the disciplinary matters'.[33] Some others have gone further to witness how "Vinaya content has disappeared from the text" in due course.[34]

Can we accept these statements as perfectly accurate observations helping us to form a flawless opinion regarding the exact attitude of the Mtu. compilers? Or is it that they represent mere attempts to give a general view of the phenomenon, which more often than not seems to have been given more than necessary emphasis? A critic of the Mtu. does not deviate from his critical viewpoint so far as he keeps in mind that one cannot find in the Mtu. as much disciplinary matters as one would rightly expect. But how can we conclude that the compilers deliberately omitted all the Vinaya elements from their compilation, or that the text has nothing to do with disciplinary matters except for those few points connected with ordination?

Trying to take a different approach to the problem, we may realize that the text does not expose itself to the charge of digression from its main subject to the extent some have thought. E. J. Thomas seems to be not far from the truth when he remarks that the 'introductory statement of the Mtu. has been misunderstood'.[35] The Mtu. is a treatise originally meant to be not the sole representative of the Vinaya, but only the

beginning or the opening of it.[36] Dr. Nalinākṣa Dutt calls it "the first book of the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins".[36a] And just as in the first book of the Pali Vinaya, i.e. Mahāvagga, which has been compared with the Mtu., there is an account of the Buddha's life, though incomplete, in the same way we find in our authority some accounts relating to the Buddha's life. It is plain and clear that the redactors of the Vinaya Piṭaka made some attempt to give an account of the Founder and his mission before they went into the details of Vinaya rules and the allied details including the history and interpretations of those rules.

The MVG. contains a biographical narrative relating the Buddha's Enlightenment, First Sermon and early conversions.[37] From Chinese sources we learn that some other works belonging to this class also contained similar narratives with variant details. In one such work[38] the account reaches only as far as the conversion of the three brothers of Kāśyapa, whereas in another authority[39] the story goes further to record the events up to the conversion of Mahākāśyapa. A similar compilation of the biographical accounts belonging to the Mahīśāsaka school was known as 'Pi-ni-tsong-kan' (Foundation of the Vinaya-piṭaka).[40] The authors of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra and the Mtu. expand still further the scope of their respective works to include the accounts of the Master's mission up to his visit to Kapilavastu, the Śākya city.[41] The Mūla-sarvāstivādī-vinaya, on the other hand, carries down the story up to the schism caused by Devadatta.[42] At a later date an attempt was made to include in the Mtu. some references to the Buddha's passing away (*parinirvāṇa*), too.[43]

This would lead us to understand that the Mtu. was planned to deal not with the Vinaya proper, but rather with the preliminary accounts including a biographical sketch of the Master. That the present form of the text contains many other elements which have no relation to the Vinaya is to be explained by the fact that it represents a wide range of composition, differing in age as well as in authorship. Even then we shall be in error to state that the text is almost entirely devoid of references to disciplinary matters.

It is interesting to come across the work a number of references to disciplinary points, apart from the well-known reference to

the four types of ordination (*upasampadā*), which the text unfortnately does not care to explain.[44] The discourse relating to the conversion of Mahā-kāśyapa makes mention of the Buddha's imposing the disciplinary rule prohibiting *gaṇa-bhojana* (eating in a crowd, *viz.* a group of monks exceeding three in number),[45] and the legendary elaboration of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī provides the background for the disciplinary rule pertaining to the acceptance of dwelling places.[46] The formal confession to be conducted by a Buddhist monk on his realizing the gravity of a transgression committed by him is referred to in the story of Abhiya,[47] whereas in the lurid description of Hell, we find the allusion that immoral monks are condemned to that infernal region.[48] Some other references are related to the proper way of going on alms-begging. The monk has to go on his begging rounds in regular, systematic order (*sāvadāna*), which means going for food from one house to the next in order (without favouring or disfavouring any house).[49] While going a-begging, a monk should utter no expressions of good-will or necessity or frustration, but should simply show his bowl.[50] In the account of Rāhula's admission to the Order, the points concerning the ordaining of novices (*śrāmaṇera*) are found elucidated.[51]

(B) *Subject-matter and the main theme*

We now come to the very important but no less complicated issue concerning the subject-matter and the main theme of our authority. The Mtu., as we have already seen, forms a bulky collection of heterogeneous narratives which found their way into that compilation over a long period during which it gradually assumed the shape in which we find it at present. "It contains", as scholars describe it, "apart from Jātakas, and interminable lists of Buddhas,- 'needless digressions, mere padding, two, three, four accounts and more of the same episode, from different sources, sometimes following one another, sometimes scattered throughout the book, dovetailed into one another, dismembered, lacerated".[52] Its chief content, as Macdonell has pointed out, is "a miraculous biography of the Buddha".[53] Winternitz also expresses the same view in this regard.[54] At the very first glance the work would certain-

ly seem to be nothing more than a collection of diverse literary material with virtually no order; a confused heap of legends, discourses, *jātaka* stories, mythological descriptions and dogmatical expositions, presented in a highly unsystematic way, sometimes in archaic prose, and sometimes in beautiful verse, but frequently with monotonous repetitions. As a considerable proportion of the text is devoted to the traditional accounts of the Buddha's life, one can reasonably say that it mainly deals with the story of the Master's career, but this is not to deny the fact that it incorporates many other chapters of religious interest. We shall, for convenience, classify the content of our text into four groups:

i. Biographical accounts pertaining to the Buddha's career,
ii. Stories relating to his former existences (*jātaka*),
iii. Stories about his disciples and devotees (*avadāna*), and,
iv. Discourses and expositions (*sūtra*, *vyākaraṇa*).

i. The authors' main interest continuing throughout the work is, as it is obvious, to record the Master's life and mission, the accounts of which they derived from divergent traditions. After making due obeisance to the Buddhas of the past, present and future, by way of the formal beginning of the work (*nidāna-namaskāra*),[55] the compilers give a short introduction to the subject matter (*nidāna-gāthā*).[56] Some of the previous births of the Buddha Śākyamuni, in which he was proclaimed by the contemporary Buddhas to become an Enlightened One in the distant future are referred to here in a very brief manner, for the text would be dealing with the stages of the *bodhisattva's* progress to a great extent. Having practised the course of training leading to Enlightenment (*bodhisattva-caryā*), which has been elaborated in the book of ten stages (*daśabhūmika*, i. 63.15.193. 6), the Great Being was born at Kapilavastu. His conception, birth, and renunciation are narrated in the text in great detail. The conception and the birth of the Bodhisattva forms the subject-matter of the portion running from i. 366.9 up to ii. 30.6. The same account with nominal variants is given in a preceding chapter also, dealing with the advent of Dīpaṃkara the Buddha (i. 196.22-227.7). Two important events in the *bodhisattva's* life, i.e. Asita's visit and prediction (ii. 30.7-44.14), and the meditation under the *jambu* tree (ii. 45.4-47.20) are recorded with usual religious fervour, and

then we find two versions of the Great Renunciation; the first (ii. 115.6-133.14) in the form of a discourse by the Buddha himself, and the second (ii. 140.1-166.10) containing much more legendary elements of late origin. The famous episode of the four Scenes is found narrated in this latter version. We are also told about the *bodhisattva's* meeting with the king Bimbisāra (ii. 191.1-200.7), and then we find one of the most colourful elaborations of the Mtu. *viz.* the account of the Enlightenment, which is given in three separate versions (ii. 259.8-293.14; 300.14-353.13; 397.8-418.16)[57] apart from the one preserved in the earlier autobiographical account. The details about the seven weeks after Enlightenment, the first meal of the Buddha and the entreaty made by the god *brahmā* to set the wheel in motion (*dharma-cakra-pravartana*) are found in the last quarter or so in which we are led to visualize the laying of the foundation of Buddhism and Buddhist Order. The account of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu and his meeting with Śuddhodana (iii. 101.14-125.4) can be counted as one of the most beautiful parts of the Mtu. representing its poetical charm. The chapter known as *chatra-vastu* (i. 253.1-300.19) deals with the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī on the disastrous epidemic in that city.

Apart from these extensive accounts of the Buddha's present life, the Mtu. occasionally relates some former existences of his, in which he obtained proclamations from the contemporary Buddhas to the effect that he would definitely become a Buddha after an immeasurable length of time. The stories of Abhiya (i. 34.1-45.17), Megha (i. 231.18-2-243.4), and Jyotipāla (i. 317.4-338.11) fall into this category. Connected with this are the lists of ancient Buddhas (i. 248.6-252.18; 136.8-141.19; iii. 224.10-250.8).

ii. Jātaka stories comprise a very large part of the textual body of our authority. We find some forty *jātakas*[58], explaining events which had taken place in some anterior births of the Master. There are very short *jātakas* hardly extending beyond the space of a single page, and there are some others, which are quite extensive. They are narrated mainly in prose, but we also have completely versified versions of a number of *jātakas*. It can be noticed that no *jātaka* story finds place in the first two hundred and seventy pages,[59] whereas

they become few and far between in the last quarter of the work; although this does not suggest any preconceived literary arrangement. Here we shall have only a glance of the *jātaka* stories, as a detailed observation of these stories is reserved for the second chapter.[60]

The Triśakunīya-jātaka (i. 272.20-282.12) is a story concerning three wise birds who advised a king in matters of administration. The next three *jātakas* of the bull (i. 283.14-286.18), the elephant (i. 286.22-288.10), and the sage (i. 288.13-290.7) illustrate how the *bodhisattva* repelled catastrophes such as plague and famine. Another *jātaka* story without a name (i. 359.18-366.8) is put forward to explain the origin of Mṛgadāya. The *jātakas* of Mañjarī (ii. 48.17-64.6)[61] Godhā (ii. 64.12-67.13), Hāra-pradāna (ii. 67.19-68.19), Vyāghrī (ii. 69.11-72.14), Amarā (ii. 83.17-89.109, Śrī (ii 89.15-94.13), Sudhanu (ii. 94.19-114.23), Śyāmā (ii. 166.20-177.2), Campaka (ii. 177.10-188.21), Śiriprabha (ii. 234.15-237-15), Nalinī (iii. 143.12-152.19), and Padumāvatī (iii. 153.7-172.3) throw light on the relationship which existed between Yaśodharā and the *bodhisattva*. The Dharmapāla-jātaka (ii. 77.5-82.2) relates how the *bodhisatta's* father put great reliance on the longevity of his son, and the Śarakṣepaṇa jātaka bears testimony to the faithfuls' belief that the Great Being always established the honour of his family. The birth stories bearing the names Śakuntaka (ii.241.14-243.209, Kacchapa (ii. 244.5-245.15), Markaṭa (ii. 246.3-250.12), Śakuntaka (ii. 250.20-255.5), Kuśa (ii. 420.6-iii.27.20), Vṛṣabha (iii. 28.6-29.3), Vānara (iii. 29.9-30.15), and Vānara (iii. 31.7-33.6) explain how the *bodhisattva* could always escape from the wicked Māra. The Puṇyavanta-jātaka (iii. 33.11-41. 10) and Vijitāvi-jātaka (iii.41.14-47.8) give us the impression that the *bodhisattva* used to appreciate the utility of merit and charity, whereas the story of the deer Surūpa (ii. 255.11-257.4) illustrates his inexhaustive love for didactic stanzas. The *jātaka* of the white horse, (iii. 67.17-90.10) presents the dramatic narrative in which the *bodhisattva* rescues five hundred merchants from a dreadful island haunted by ogresses. Udāyī's service to the cause of Buddhism is commemorated in the *jātaka* of the crow (ii. 130.4-137.15), and the Hastinikā-jātaka (iii.130.4-137.15) provides yet another example of the

bodhisattva's unparalleled virtues. The Upāli-gaṅgapāla jātaka[62] (iii.182.10-197.3) lays stress on the Buddhist approach to the institution of caste, and elaborates how Upāli the barber was worshipped by king Bimbisāra in a former birth also. The *jātakas* of Dharmalabdha (iii. 286.17-300.8) and Śarabhaṅga (iii. 357.4-375.11) are meant to illustrate the *bodhisattva's* alertness against temptation and his extraordinary capacity to preach the world respectively. The last of the Mtu. collection of the birth stories is the Arindama-jātaka (iii. 449.17-461.10) related in connection with the conversion of Bimbisāra.

iii. A voluminous compilation of encyclopaedic character as it is, the Mtu. incorporates a number of accounts concerning the early conversions. The stories relating the ordinations of Mahā-kāśyapa (iii.50.7-55.17). Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana (iii. 56.6-67.7), the five monks of Ṛṣipatana (iii.333. 18ff, 338.20ff, 347.16-353.12; 354.1-356.19), Pūrṇa (iii. 377. 7-382.6), Nālaka (iii. 382.8-389.11), Sabhika (iii. 389.13-401.17) Yaśoda (iii. 401.19-415.5), Upāli and the Śākyans (iii.176.1-181.9), the three brothers of Kāśyapa (iii.424.4-434.6) and Rāhula (iii. 257.17-271.13) are to be included in this class. The stories of the conversions of Śuddhodana (iii.101. 14ff) and Bimbisāra (iii.436.20ff) also have their own significance as landmarks in the history of the expansion of Buddhism. These accounts can be found, as a matter of fact, in other authorities like the MVG. and the MSV. belonging to Vinaya recensions of other schools, and the Divyā., a prominent work of *avadāna* literature, contains many references to them.

iv. The main interest of our compilers being none other than recording the biographical accounts and legendary stories, it is no wonder that the Mtu. finds very little scope for dealing with doctrinal and disciplinary points. Almost all of the most important and basic teaching of the Master are, however, found interspersed among these narratives. The Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra (iii.330.17-335.9) and the short *sūtras* on the theory of non-self (*anātman*) immediately following it (iii.335.10-340.16) are particularly noteworthy in this respect. A similar discussion on the Buddhist theory of *anātman* is found in the records of the Buddha's meeting with Bimbisāra (iii.446.9ff). The formula of the Law of

Conditioned co-production (*pratītya-samutpāda*) is also referred to in several places.[63] The verses of Khaḍgaviṣāṇa section (i.357.19-359.16) signify the Pratyeka-buddha tradition, whereas the portions derived from a recension of Dhammapada bear out the fact that throughout the text our compilers have been able to keep in line with the ancient Buddhist tradition. The book on the ten stages of the spiritual progress of a *bodhisattva* indicates the growing popularity of the *bodhisattva* doctrine. The stories of Dharmaruci (i.243.5-247.20) and Mālinī (i.301.3-317.3) bearing *avadāna* features, contain elements of doctrinal importance, whereas some sections are wholly devoted to elaborate the religious points such as the efficacy of worshipping *stūpas* (cairns enshrining relics) and morality (ii.362.3-396. 8 and ii.357. 5-361.15). Among the notable *sūtras* recorded in the Mtu. are Avalokita-sūtra (ii. 257.6-293.15; 293.16-397.7), and Mahā-govindīya-sūtra (iii.197.9-224.8). The exposition of hell and heaven (i.4.15-33.17) adopts a typical method of religious instruction, characteristic of all known and unknown religions, *viz.* the temptation of happiness and the horror of suffering. Apart from these doctrinal expositions and elucidations, the text is abundant in references to matters of Buddhist interest, e.g. eulogies of the Master,[64] and elaborations of miraculous phenomena connected with him[65]. It is not an easy matter, largely due to the lack of uniformity in the text, to decide what the main theme of our authority has been. Having obtained an acquaintance with the subject-matter of the Mtu., however, it is not very difficult to see the central theme of the text. The Mtu., as we know, is largely concerned with the narratives based on the Buddha's career, his life and mission. It has been the established opinion of the scholars with regard to the main theme of the Mtu., that it is largely intended to be a biography of the Buddha.[66]

A reader going through the bulky compilation, on which is based our present study, cannot but notice the obvious fact that it is replete with confusing digressions and monotonous repetitions. These interpolations and accretions would at first glance seem as somewhat superfluous and hardly related to the main subject of the original treatise, and more often than not affecting the uniformity of the compilation. It is beyond dispute that no attempt has been made by the compilers to

present their work in an artistic order of arrangement, neither from the chronological, nor from the literary point of view. Still, are we to regard this as a clue to the fact that the authors did entirely overlook the evident phenomenon that these patchworks were gradually taking the shape of a nasty obstruction in the continuous flow of the story? Or can it be due to some strong reason, apart from the guarantee of their preservation, that these details, digressions and repetitions were allowed in the textual body of the Mtu.?

If we are to consider the last few hundred pages of the Mtu. alone, the string of the unique theme. i.e. the Buddha's missionary career, can be seen running uninterrupted. But, the text as a whole does not seem to have been interested so much in presenting biographical or historical accounts in a continuous way as in magnifying the Buddha's glory, of which are part and parcel his beauty, power and greatness. It seems that this was the motive underlying the peculiar style of giving more than one version of the same episode. The conception and birth of the *bodhisattva* have been, for example, described three times, though all the three versions are identical almost word for word. The defeat of Māra, also repeated three times, is another proof of this. These repetitions were so tempting to the minds of our compilers probably because of their gorgeous character, enlivened by miraculous manifestations, praises of the Buddha sung by superhuman beings and details of his supreme powers and qualities. The authors are never tired of recording eulogies of the Buddha and his sublime accomplishments.

The Buddha's physical and transcendental qualities, such as the thirty-two great characteristics (*mahā-puruṣalakṣaṇa*), eighty minor signs (*aśīti-anuvyañjana*), ten powers (*daśatathāgata-bala*), four confidences (*catur-vaiśāradya*), eighteen unmixed attributes (*aṣṭādaśa-āveṇika*) and five eyes (*pañca-buddhacakṣuṣ*) are frequently enumerated and referred to, and are described as possessed by the Master by virtue of great and gracious merit acquired in his previous existences. When the idea of the Buddha's supramundane nature gained ground, the Mtu. authors happily made room for elaborating that, too. The Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu and the conversion of the Kāśyapa brothers would certainly leave an indelible impression

in the pious mind of the devout reader as they contain many miraculous details. All superhumans praise the Buddha, and even *asuras* come to worship him.[67] Asita, an old sage of high reputation worshipped him when he was just an infant, and the great king Bimbisāra became a follower of his as he found no other solace at a moment of frustration. Licchavis called for his help when all other religious leaders failed to chase the demons out of their epidemic-striken city, and even the cremation of his body was not devoid of miraculous events.[68] Even the *jātaka* stories of our text seem to have been carefully selected for this purpose. None of these *jātakas* allude to a single weakness or failure of the *bodhisattva*, who invariably emerges as the righteous hero, overcoming all difficulties. The elaboration of ten stages (*bhūmis*) also centres around the individual incarnations of Siddhārtha Gautama.

Referring to the *jātakas* and *avadānas* in the Mtu., Winternitz also remarks that "a very favourite theme in these is the glorification of the exceeding self-denial and generosity of the Bodhisattva", and to substantiate this, he draws our attention to the stories of Ghaṭīkāra (i. 319.9ff), Surūpa (i.92.13ff) and Arka (i.54.5) etc.[69] In the light of these observations, it appears that the Buddha's biography has become only a vehicle in the authors' actual task, i.e. the glorification of the Master's unequalled and supreme personality, which forms the central theme of the Mtu. It is with a view to evoke a deep feeling of devotion and faith in the reader's mind that our compilers earnestly present extensive elaborations of the Buddha's personality, past and present; and we may remark that this objective, which is in perfect harmony with the main theme of the text, has been achieved by our compilers to a great extent.

(C) *Sources and Time*

The Mtu. as a canonical work, largely resorts to the ancient Buddhist tradition as the source from which it derives materials for the composition of almost the entire work with just a few notable exceptions. It should be borne in mind, however, that our authority in its present form being a repository for diverse legends and dogmatic expositions of late origin, there cannot have been a particular origin from which

it could draw materials constantly. And it is also to be remembered that the text, though claiming to be part of the Vinaya, has borrowed freely from the Sūtra-piṭaka. The situation becomes intelligible when we admit the historical fact that the Original Buddhist Tradition was a collection of the Buddha's teaching, not written but committed to memory, without sharp and clear-cut lines of distinction and classification.

It is true that a good number of passages in our text find their parallels in the Pali canon. Details relating to the seven weeks immediately following the Enlightenment (*abhisambodhana*), Setting Wheel in motion (*dharma-cakra-pravartana*), and the conversions of Yaśoda (Pali. Yasa), Uruvilvā-kāśyapa, Śāriputra and Mahā-maudgalyāyana, Rāhula and some others are more or less identical with the relevant chapters in the MVG. We have in the Mtu. faithful facsimiles of the Ariya-pariyesana, Pabbajjā, Padhāna, Mahā-govinda, Ratana, Acchariya-abbhuta-dhamma, Lakkhaṇa, Dhamma-cakka-pavattana, cīvara, and Aggañña suttas of the Pali Canon.[70] In addition to this there are some other portions in verse corresponding to a number of passages in Vimāna-vatthu, Dhammapada, Buddhavaṃsa and Sutta-nipāta. Jātaka stories in our authority have their counterparts in the Pali JA., whereas the *gāthās* of these *jātakas* are frequently found in agreement with the corresponding *gāthās* in the Jātaka-pāli.

The Pali Tipiṭaka is no longer regarded as the sole representative of the original system founded by the Śākyamuni. It is now well-known that there were collections or recensions of the Buddha's words in languages other than Pali, though most of these authorities are not available now in original. The Vinaya of Sarvāstivādins has partly come down to us in original language,[71] and some versions of the Dhammapada and Udāna written in several Middle Indic languages are also found in central Asia and Khotan.[72] A sizable part of the *avadāna* literature is also fortunately preserved. The Divyā., Av. Śat., and the MSV. are particularly notable in this regard, as they help us to trace some of the Mtu. legends and accounts back to the ancient Buddhist tradition. The Lalita-vistara is important as a biography of the Buddha, and the Ahiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra, known to us through a Chinese translation,[73] is particularly significant as it appears to be closely following the setting of

the Mtu. This work contains so many passages, stories, legends and even whole chapters perfectly identical with relevant portions of our authority that there remains no doubt that both texts were derived from one and the same origin. Some verses of the famous Avalokana-sūtra can be traced in the Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva. We shall deal with these parallels in detail in the second chapter.

About the period of composition of the Mtu., our meagre knowledge is based on just a few clues of vague and inconclusive character. Oldenberg tried to determine the different strata of the work on the basis of stylistic peculiarities,[74] whereas other scholars have discovered certain internal hints which are not to be overlooked in deciding the possible time of composition of the text. That the work is not the composition of a single author written in a well-defined period of time is evident, and in the absence of positive evidence, we have to depend on mere conjecture. Some important chapters of the text indicate the direct influence of an age as early as the pre-Mahāyānic period, whereas some other apocryphal passages contain references which seem to betray their late origin. While acknowledging the fact that many circumstances such as its being part of the Lokottaravādin canon and the linguistic pecularities indicate great antiquity, Winternitz and Keith point out that some passages seem to be influenced by sculptures of the Gandhāra school.[75] This presumption is based on the reference to the halo of the Buddha,[76] which is said to be one of the contributions of the Greek artists.[77] It is generally admitted that the feature of aura (*byāma-prabhā*), the fathom length of halo of the Enlightened One is definitely post-canonical in origin,[78] and it would thus be reasonable to assign those passages containing such references to the period belonging to the early centuries after Christ.

The text makes mention of Huns and Chinese,[79] and refers to astrologers by the term *horāpāṭhaka*.[80] These references are taken by scholars as evincing the fourth century A.D.,[81] and the mention of *yogācāra* has also been quoted as an additional proof of this.[82] Vallèe Poussin thinks that the names of Ujjhebhaka and Peliyākṣa suggest the compilers' acquaintance with the names Uzbek and Feilix; a point which according to him, indicates the fourth or fifth century A.D.[83] That the

Mtu. embodies certain passages in which we find the traces of a strong anti-Brahmanic feeling[84] also points to a post-canonical period.

Mention of Huns and Chinese, according to Keith, does not prove the very late origin of those relevant passages. "We are probably mistaken if we assume that their name penetrated to India only in the fourth or fifth century A.D."[85] But he also admits that the word *horā-pāṭhaka* was not known to India before the third century A.D. "The nucleus of the work is old, however, and probably originated as far back as the 2nd century B.C.", to quote Winternitz, "even though it was enlarged in the 4th century A.D. and perhaps still later, by additions and interpolations".[86]

In the light of these speculations we have to be content with the general view regarding the question at issue that the composition of the Mtu. involves a long period of time beginning from the second century B.C. upto the third or fourth century A.D.

(D) *Language and Style*

The Mtu. is written in a language which is based primarily on an old Middle Indic vernacular. This language has borrowed, with the passage of time, so many elements from other Middle Indic dialects, and gradually become so much Sanskritized that it now poses a very interesting but complicated problem for the linguist. This language is generally known as 'Buddhist Sanskrit',[87] 'Mixed Sanskrit'[88] or 'Gāthā Dialect'.[89] Edgerton prefers the term 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit'.[90] "The most striking peculiarity of this language is", observes Edgerton, "that from the very beginning of its tradition as we know it.. and increasingly as time went on, it was modified in the direction of standard Sanskrit, while still retaining evidences of its Middle Indic origin".[91] The Mtu. can be regarded as one of the best specimens of this language.

Our text claims a particular significance from the linguistic point of view, as it is the oldest Buddhist Sanskrit work we possess. It would certainly require an extensive study to determine all the linguistic peculiarities of our text, and Edgerton's splendid contribution in this direction is really praiseworthy. We shall here attempt only to have just a glimpse of the language

of our text.

i. Assimilation of consonants:
vuccati i.22.8 *pravuccati* ii. 358.1
kuḍḍa i. 26.1 *ukkāsana* ii. 419.16

ii. Dropping of final consonants other than a nasal :
puna i. 5.9 *yāva* i. 18.14
kāni ci i. 328.8 *kasya ci* i. 364.7 *paścā* ii. 391.2

iii. Long vowels for short and short vowels for long:
pratibhāṇito ii. 37.17 *pāripūrṇa* ii. 299.11
ānuśāsti ii. 323.21 *kocī* i. 66.10
bhuyo-bhuyo i.. 3.15 *sada* ii. 376.11 *yatha* i. 70.6
dāni (=idānīṃ) i. 17.10 *tadāni* (=*tadānīṃ*) i.253.6
Sometimes the long vowel is shortened before a consonant cluster:
kilantaṃ iii. 118.20
ayyako vā payyako ii. 426.16 *khajjanti* i. 360.1

iv. Substitution of one vowel for another:
yācintyā i. 133.1 *pareṣu* (=*pareṣām*) i. 286.9
edṛṣa i. 225.8 *neti* ii. 81.9 *janetrī* i. 142.7
erāvaṇena ii. 275.7

v. 'O' for 'ava' :
oruddha i. 22.11 *ovādena ovadanti* i. 104.9
osṛuṣṭā i. 205.10 *obhāsitaṃ* i. 205.11
orodhe i. 143.7 *osakta* i. 231.13

vi. Epenthetic vowels:
ratanāni i. 108.8 *araho* i. 37.7 *garahati* ii. 376.4
mūrdhinā i. 67.11 *acintiyā* ii. 362.11 *śākiyā* i. 351.14
anivartiyāḥ i. 87.13 *avivartikā* i. 83.12

vii. Sandhi—Loss of initial vowels :
anyeṣāṃ pi i. 16.13 *mānsaṃ pi snāyuṃ pi...sarvaṃ pi* i. 18. 11-12 *tuvaṃ ti* ii. 216.4
kukṣigatā va i. 144.13
Loss of final vowels:
dṛṣṭvān'aho i. 8.11 *yen'imāṃ* i. 68.4
yasy'iyaṃ i. 73.11 *yen'icchakam* ii. 484.8
ekūna ii. 494.10
mahyādya (=*mahyam adya*) i. 186.9
tasyaiva (=*tasyāḥ eva*) i. 231.3
'O' for '*as*' :
mano prasāditvā i. 3.14 *bhuyo-bhuyo parityaktā* i. 5.4

adhośirā i. 5.4

'O' for '*ar*' :

anto nagarāto iii. 185.5

Two adjoining vowels keep unchanged:

cyuti upapatti i. 9.3 *pūrvavideha aparagodānīya uttarakuruṣu* i. 6.2-3 *mahā-udyāneṣu* i. 32.4

bhojanīya-āsvādanīyena i. 38.8

Insertion of '*m*', '*r*', '*d*', '*n*' and '*y*' between vowels:

girāya-m-anupūrvaśaḥ i.10.7

atīta-m-adhvāne i. 271.10 *āśu-r-eva* i. 217.18

bhagavatā-r-ardha iii. 301.2

khu-d-ayaṃ mṛdukā-d-ayaṃ masinā-d-ayam iii. 54.1-2

kim imā-n-edṛśā iii. 102.11

iti-y-eva iii. 51.9

viii. Gender is often irregular:

maraṇāya pāram i.165.8 *satyāni caturo* i. 188.5

ayaṃ ghoṣo mayā śrtam i. 28.15 *ayaṃ lokaḥ sarvaśūnyaṃ bhaviṣyati* i, 126. 7-8

catvāro dhātrīyo ii. 423.6 *te devatā* iii. 304.4

te dāni devadevatāṃ namasyanti svakasvakāni i. 245.7-8

ix. Case :

Some uses of the cases which are not usual in standard Sanskrit

(a) Nominative for instrumental:

so dāni rājā...paribhogāni ca dinnā ii. 443.15-17

so kāṇḍo tasya rājño pādamūle sthitvā pādaphalakaṃ khaṇḍakhaṇḍīkṛtam ii. 82.15-16

(b) Accusative in referring to time :

yatra kālaṃ iii. 295.13

bhaveyam anāgatam adhvānaṃ tathāgato i. 238.15

yaṃ velaṃ i. 361.3-4

(c) Instrumental for locative :

dvīhi kulehi....bodhisattvā jāyanti i.197.12

ṣaṭsu gatīhi i. 42.17 *caturhi padehi pratibhuko* ii. 141.4

etehi sivikāhi niṣīdāhi ii. 216.18 *devīhi upapannā* iii. 375.14

sarvehi bhūtehi nivārya daṇḍaṃ iii. 412.22

(d) Genitive for ablative, instrumental and dative:

cirasya i. 237.17 *dhītuḥ sārdhaṃ* i.36.15

mātuḥ sārdhaṃ ii. 26.1

jinamātuḥ ûpagatā draṣṭumanā i. 146.7

kasya vā garahāmy aham ii. 480.15

(e) Locative for ablative :

ato mahānarake muktāḥ i. 6.16

The ending *u*, common in verses in Buddhist Sanskrit works, is rare in the Mv.:

eṣu i. 131.4 *sthitu* i. 204.14 *abhiratu* ii. 326.17
susatkṛtu ii. 372.7 *suruciru praśastu* ii. 372.12

x. Case endings:

Nominative : *a, ā, āyo,*

eṣa...pravrajyopasampadā iii. 329.14-15
sampaśyamāna i. 155.3
parvatā prajvalitā ādīptā sajjyotibhūtā i. 6.14

Plural *a* :

'kāma i. 73.13 *lokanātha* i. 69.21
anekāyo i. 6.7 *āśiviṣa-samā tāyo viṣapatra-samā tāyo* iii.149.14

Accusative : *a, āyo, āvo, īyo*

meruśṛṅga ii. 404.7 *suparigīta* i. 70.6
divyāyo i. 32.17 *antaḥpurikāyo* iii. 357.17 *śaktīyo* ii. 88.3

Instrumental : *hi, ehi, ihi, īhi ibhi, ā, āye, āya*

pañcahi i.31.6 *ayoviṣkambhanehi* i.8.3 *aśītihi* i. 32.8
munīhi i. 72.10 *buddharaśmibhi* iii. 274.6 *padasā* ii. 199.8 *gāthāye* i. 56.14 *bubhukṣāya* iii. 158.11

Dative: *āye, āyai, āe, iye, īye*

lohitikāye i. 49.15 *vyaktatāyai suvibhaktatāyai*
gambhīratāyai... ii. 43.7 *ehibhikṣukāe* iii. 180.13
kṣāntiye ii. 340.18 *ṛddhīye* i. 35.3

Ablative : ā, āto

asipatravanā i.12.2 *kukkulāto* i. 7.2

Genitive : *āna, ānam, ānām, īṣām, usya*

devamanujāna i. 73.4 *tridaśānam īśvaro* i. 367.3
devānaṃ ii.352.1 *nāgānām* ii. 352.2 *bhāryāpatiṣām* iii.148.13
mānasacakṣusya i. 159.2

Locative : *une*

mahāvastune ii. 206.19

xi. Personal pronouns:

tuvaṃ i.180.18 *tvam* i. 365.12 *maye* ii.320.8
mamato ii.272.8 *mahya* i. 186.7 *tuhyaṃ* i. 226.4
haṃmi iii. 216.8 *asmehi* i. 313.8 *yuṣme* i. 186.8
tumhehi ii. 78.2 *tuphehi* ii.2.17

xii. Dual forms also show signs of irregularity. Dual

subjects usually have plural verbs.
duve na jāyante...nararṣabhau i. 122.16
ubhāvetau mariṣyanti i. 181.5

xiii. Verb forms :
bhaṇātha i. 207.15 *vijānāma* iii. 192.7 *labhāmatha* iii.9.17
prāpṇonti i.160.5 *karontu* i. 295.1 *bhaveya* ii. 391.2
bheṣyati i. 234.5 *hohiti* i. 208.5 *hohati* ii. 225.5
iii. 124.18
māpramādyi iii. 124.18 *avagāhiṣu* i. 11.1 *snapayiṃsu* i. 99.11

xiv. Gerund-suffixes: *aṃ, tvā, tvāna, ya, itvā, iyā, iyāna,*
śālihāraṃ gamiṣyāmaḥ i. 343.9 *satkṛtvā gurukṛtvā* i. 44.12
gṛhya i. 146.2 *māritvā* ii. 248.6 *mānayitvā pūjayitvā*
apācayitvā 144.12. *kṣipiyā* ii. 391.1 *vijahiyāna.* i. 208.4
kṛtvāna ii. 358.7

xv. Infinitive :
upetu i. 204.18 *pṛcchitum* iii. 394.16 *nigrahetuṃ* iii. 322.5
darśanāya upasaṃkramaṇāya paryupāsanāya i. 255.5
gamanāye i. 362.15 *paśyanāye* ii. 456.8

As for the style of the Mv. also it is no easy task to present even an outline which would help to give an adequate comprehension of the stylistic peculiarities of our authority without going into details accompanied by illustrations. The text being a voluminous composition, extended and amplified through centuries, we are naturally to expect a great diversity of styles representing different strata of the compilation. Here we can have only a look at the extensive and sometimes interesting stylistic peculiarities in the Mv.

The textual body of the Mv. is an admixture of both prose and verse, and the outstanding feature in this regard is that apparently there is no order of arrangement. Some legends are narrated in prose, and some other accounts are presented in prose intermingled with verse. A *jātaka* story, first narrated in prose is very often followed by a versified version. Some other *jātakas* are told mainly in verse, whereas a very small proportion of these stories, narrated in prose, contain only the formal *gāthā* in verse. Compilers had in their possession a number of stereotyped passages which could characteristically be employed in certain contexts. Thus we find almost all *jātakas* beginning with an identical preamble, and in the same way, another cliché signifies the conclusion of each *jātaka.*

The style of the Mv., whether in prose or in verse, is specially notable for its repetitions and monotonous character. Some passages keep repeating the same phrase or words many times.

evṃ ukte āyuṣmān ānando āyuṣmantaṃ mahākāśyapam etad avocat... evam ukte āyuṣmān mahākāśyapo āyuṣmantam ānandam etad avocat... evam ukte āyuṣmān ānando āyuṣmantaṃ mahākāśyapaṃ etad avocat. kṣama āyuṣmanta mahākāśyapa bālo mātṛgrāmo avyakto akuśalo akṣetrajño ...evam ukte āyuṣmān mahākāśyapo āyuṣmantam ānandam etad avocat ... (iii.48.2-49. 22)

atha khalu bhagavān tāni ṣaṣṭhi-asuraniyutāni anuttarāye samyak-sambodhiye vyākaritvā bahūni ca prāṇisahasrāṇi āryadharmeṣu pratiṣṭhāpayitvā rājānaṃ śuddhodanaṃ ca saparivāraṃ ca udyojaye. atha khalu rājā śuddhodano saparivāro utthāyāsanato bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvā prakrame ...atha khalu rājā śuddhodano tasyaiva rātriye atyayena ...atha khalu rājā śuddhodano bhagavantaṃ saśrāvakasaṅghaṃ puraskṛtvā rājakulaṃ praveśeti...atha khalu bhagavāṃ śuddhodanasya niveśanaṃ praviśitvā prajñapta evāsane niṣide, yathāsano ca bhikṣusaṅgho. atha khalu rājā śuddhodano ... (iii.141.10-142.2)

This type of repetition, it can be seen, was necessary for and probably endemic in the original tradition which was committed not to writing but to memory, and intended not to be read but to be heard.[94] The continuous repetition of phrase or refrain in verse can be justified when this point is taken into account. Thus we find in many long passages the same phrases or lines recurring by way of emphasizing a given idea.[95]

Sometimes this style seems to be really helpful in presenting a clear picture of what is being described. We can imagine a lively picture of the chaotic situation in the wrecked ship as we come across the following description :

...kecit śivaṃ namasyanti, kecid vaiśravaṇaṃ namasyanti, kecit skandaṃ, kecid varuṇaṃ, kecid yamaṃ, kecit kuveraṃ, kecit śakraṃ, kecid brahmaṃ, kecid daśa diśāṃ namasyanti yathā ito makāsamudrāto jīvantā uttarema. te dāni tena yānapātreṇa vipannena nānāprakārāṇi plavāni ādāya samudramadhye patitā kecid ghaṭim ādāya, kecit phalakaṃ, kecid alābuśreṇiyaṃ ... (iii.68.2-6)

Sometimes the repetition of a single word is enough to lay stress on something : *so dhūmo tīkṣṇo kaṭuko bhayānako chaviṃ bhitvā carma bhitvā mānsaṃ bhitvā snāyuṃ bhitvā asthiṃ bhitvā asthimarjaṃ mānsādyatiniryāti.* (i.19.12-20.2)

Although encumbered with persistent repetitions, the text offers many features of attraction in its multiform style. It sometimes assumes a very simple and unsophisticated way of description, expressing much in little space.

yaṃ kālaṃ so ekaśṛṅgako ṛṣikumāro vijñaprāptaḥ saṃjāto tasya ṛṣisya tam āśramaṃ siṃcati sammārjati mūlāni nānāprakārāṇi āneti tam ṛṣiṃ parimardeti snāpeti agnihotraṃ pratijāgareti. (iii. 145.8-10).

At some places, the sentence-construction is particularly remarkable for being short and expressive :

mahauṣadho ca bhikṣavo mahāprājño sarvaśilpehi abhijño. tasya bhavati kiṃ karmārāṇāṃ sarvacūrṇakarmaṃ, sūciyo. karmāro yo śaknoti sūcī pi kartuṃ so ācariyo. mahauṣadhena kośaprakṣiptā sūcī kṛtā, ekatra kośake sapta sūciyo prakṣipyanti. te sarve aṣṭa sūciyo ekā sūcī bhavanti. sāpi ekā aṣṭa sūciyo bhavati. mahauṣadho tāṃ sūcim ādāya taṃ karmāragrāmaṃ gato vikriṇitum. karmāragrāmikasya pathā gatvā ghoṣeti. sūcī vikeryā, yasya kāryaṃ sa kriṇātu. (ii.87.12-18)

Although the text is not meant to represent an exemplary specimen of poetry, yet it contains a good number of descriptions, delineations, and artistic presentations which add to its literary aspects. It is not very seldom that we find a touching description which deserves to be noticed for its poetical character. Can we overlook how successfully the following passage has portrayed an old man, despised and deserted by all ?

...jiṇṇo puruṣo...jiṇṇo vṛddho mahallako adhvagataṃ vayam anuprāpto śvetaśiro tilakāhatagātro bhagno gopānasīvakro puratoprāgbhāro daṇḍam avaṣṭabhyamānair gātrair gacchanto... (ii. 150.10-151.1)

It seems that the compilers frequently take us to a fairy world, full of beautiful sounds, sweet music and colourful visions. Descriptions of the Himālayas, mythical cities and planes of non-human beings are so unrealistic and imaginative that their legendary character is unmistakable.[96]

Our compilers intersperse here and there in the body of the narrative some stanzas with a religious bearing.

manasā devānāṃ vacasā pārthivānāṃ,
acireṇāḍhyānāṃ karmaṇā daridrāṇām (ii.95.12-13, 179.11-12; iii.161.5-6 etc.)
sarvasattvā mariṣyanti maraṇāntaṃ hi jīvitam,
yathākarma kariṣyanti (=*gamiṣyanti*) *puṇyapāpaphalopagā* (*ḥ*) (ii.64.4-5, 424.5-6; iii.152.5-6, 183.13-14 etc.)
śataṃ māyā kṣatriyāṇāṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ duve śatā,

sahasraṃ māyā rājānāṃ strī(ṇāṃ)māyā hi anantikā
(ii.169.12-13, 247.19-20 etc.)

Some passages seem to breathe the spirit of commentarial style.

evaṃ samāsato narakavarṇaḥ, vistarato'pyupavarṇayiṣyāmi. (i.9.1)
kenaiṣa saṃjīvo ...tenaiṣa saṃjīvo (i.17.6-7)
vivartanti saṃsaranti vivartacaryā, avivartiyā bodhāya bhavanti avivartacaryā (i.63.13-14)

The poetical value of the work is enhanced by dexterous employment of *alaṅkāras* which give the work the appearance of a somewhat ornate piece of literature. Many different modes of a rhetorical way of expression can be found exemplified in our text. We quote only a few of them :

upamā : *āmapātraṃ va ambunā* (ii.240.11)
garjanta meghā yatha antarīkṣe (ii.342.14)
dhanapatiriva guhyakādhipati (ii.33.12)
puṣpam iva udumbaraṃ (iii.62.3)

rūpaka : *hariṇavatsanayanā* (ii.5.1)
ahaṃ sa kalpavṛkṣo (iii.46.17)
kākaśiro padmanetro valāhakulena abhinirvṛtto (iii.85.11)

dīpaka : *cittasthititve asi pāramiṃ gato*
vaśī samādhismi tathāpi pudgala (i.164.11-12)

āvṛtti : *so hi devamanujāna uttamo so hi agrapuruṣo mahāmuniḥ,*
so hi niḥśaraṇamuttamaprabhuḥ dṛṣṭadarśano hitāya prāṇinām (i.73.4-7)

yamaka : *punarpunaḥ kṣipra vapanti bījaṃ punarpunaḥ varṣati devarājaḥ,*
punarpunaḥ vardhati bījagrāmaṃ punarpunaḥ lābhaṃ labhanti karṣakāḥ (iii.108.17-20)

arthāntara-nyāsa : *tyaje tyajantaṃ satataṃ na gacche*
apetabhāvena na saṃvaseya,
dvijo dṛmaṃ kṣīṇaphalaṃ viditvā
anyaṃ parīkṣeya mahāṃ hi loko (ii.67.4-7)

anuprāsa : *śṛtvā gajendravacanaṃ manujendro sumadhuraṃ sukaruṇaṃ ca,*
aśruparipūrṇavadano naravaro vāraṇam adhyabhāṣita (iii.135.16-17).

Our observation would not be complete without a word about

the metres of the Mv. A good half of the text is of course in verse, and this fact definitely enhances the importance of this aspect. But it is to be remembered that our compilers show little attention in this direction, as the result of which we often find the metre of verses broken and irregular. We frequently come across the verses composed in different metres such as *anuṣṭubh*, *rathoddhatā*, *vasantatilakā*, *bhujaṅga-vijṛmbhita*, and *upendravajrā* etc., but they do not always represent good examples of perfect and flawless metres. The following would illustrate this :

anuṣṭubh : *pañcānāṃ varṣaśatānām ayaṃ ghoṣo mayā śṛtaṃ,*
pāniyaṃ pretalokasmiṃ paśya yāva sudurlabhaṃ (i.28.15-16)

rathoddhatā : *mānadarpamada-moha-mocitā sarvaśaḥ samiya-mārdavānvitā,*
gauravaṃ janiya sarvadarśiṣu śrūyatāṃ jinava-rasya śāsanaṃ (i.64.4-7)

vasantatilakā : *yenāntareṇa paramārthavidur bhavāmi*
taṃ antaraṃ yadi avicigato vasāmi,
taṃ abhyupemi na ca taṃ pratisaṃharāmi
sarvajñatāye praṇidhiṃ iti niścayo me (i.82.10-13)

bhujaṅgavijṛm-bhita : *dīrghaṃ kālaṃ citrācāro kuśala ativipulaphalado bhavakṣayakāṅkṣayā*
ślāghyair nānaiḥ maitrīpūrvabahuvividhajanita-kuśalaiḥ śamābhimukho tyaktvā muniḥ, vāsaṃ nityaṃ vidvān asurasuramahitaṃ sukhitaṃ sattvapratibodhane ikṣvākūnāṃ vaṃśodbhūto— dharaṇitalam avatari yaśaḥsthito acalādhṛtiḥ (i.98.8-11)

upendravajrā: *punarpunar yācanakā upenti punarpunaḥ satpuruṣā dadanti,*
punarpunaḥ satpuruṣā pi datvā punarpunar svarga-mupenti-sthānaṃ (iii.109.1-4)

SECTION II

(A) *The Doctrine (dharma-vinaya) as known to the Mv.*

The Buddhist fold following the path shown by the Buddha is called the *śāsana*, the Dispensation or the Mandate. As the elaboration of the basic points of the Norm which is known to the Mv. as *buddha-dharma*[97] comprises a primary objective of our text, we may here direct our attention to the matters of

doctrinal importance as presented in this canonical composition. The religious system founded by the Enlightened One constitutes two main aspects, namely, the Teaching (*dharma*) and the Training (*vinaya*). Gautama the Śākyamuni himself spoke of the Teaching and Training collectively as *ārya-dharma-vinaya*.[98] The conservative tradition of Elders (*theravāda*) has developed a tendency to install Vinaya in the first place, for they regard that part of the Doctrine to be the life-force of the *śāsana*.[99] The Mahāyāna school differs considerably from this view as it seems to hold the *dharma* to be the more important of the two. The original message of the Master did not probably make any attempt to extol one over the other, a fact that points to the phenomenon that they are both interrelated and supplementary of each other. This is perfectly in accordance with the evident fact that in Buddhism is found the beautiful confluence of wisdom and culture. The ninefold *śāsana* of the Master was equally relevant to both of these divisions.[100]

The discourses (*sūtra*) obviously contain certain points of discipline, whereas the rules of ethical and moral training (*vinaya*) do essentially embody the fundamental elements of the *dharma*. Thus it is but natural that the treatises dealing with the *Vinaya* should represent the Buddha's Teaching in a nucleus and *vice versa*. The Mv. also deals with the *dharma* as well as with the *Vinaya*, and we may treat the contents of the Mv. according as they pertain to the *dharma* or to the *vinaya*.

(i) *The Teaching* (*dharma*)

The relation between religion and philosophy is, perhaps, one of those subtle and complicated things which cannot be universally defined or generalised. It is generally understood, however that a religion in its pristine form carries very little of what assumes, at a later stage of growth, the form of a developed philosophy. The question whether Buddhism in actuality is a religion or a philosophy has become an enigmatic problem for some modern observers,[101] whereas some others would think it merely represents a way of life. On the other hand, there have been scholars who were pleased to estimate that the Buddha's teaching was wholly concerned with, and confined to, an ethical and social reform within the 'Hindu Pale'.[102] Still others have, strangely enough, gone to the extreme to declare

that Gautama 'was born, lived and died as a Hindu'.[103]

It should by no means be forgotten that the Buddha, the Founder of a new and original religious system (*saṅghī gaṇi gaṇācariyo*) has nowhere considered himself to profess a faith or to represent a fold based on tenets and teachings other than the Enlightenment he himself attained under the bodhi tree. The vital significance of this realisation lies in its being entirely original, *i.e.*, its not being transmitted by a tradition, nor imparted or revealed by an individual. The phrase *pūrve ananuśṛtehi dharmehi* (unheard of before)[104] signifies this characteristic of the Buddha's teaching. It was on the basis of this Supreme Realisation that he promulgated his Doctrine.[105]

The 'Four Noble Truths'[106] or the 'Most Excellent Truths'[107] (*caturāryâ-satya*) are the cardinal points of this Enlightenment. It is the key-stone of the Teaching on which is built the superstructure of Buddhist Faith, all schools of Buddhist thought are without exception unanimously agreed on its importance and authority. It is in the celebrated *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra* which is recognised as the *locus classicus* of the Doctrine,[108] that the Four Noble Truths are expounded for the first time. The Mv. preserves this *sūtra* in its complete form as found in other authorities of different schools.

"Now monks, there are these four Āryan truths. What four? They are the Āryan truth of Suffering, the Āryan truth of the uprising of Suffering, the Āryan truth of the stopping of suffering and the Āryan truth of the Course that leads to the cessation of Suffering."[109]

This sententious statement is followed by a stereotyped exposition of the said Four Noble Truths. Apart from the short and pithy elucidation of them in the *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra*, a few more references to them are found elsewhere in the course of the text,[110] but we fail to obtain from our source any further exegetical elaboration of these Truths. It seems possible, however, to make an attempt to comprehend these fundamental points of the Buddha's Teaching in the light of the Mv.

(*a*) *Suffering* (*duḥkha*)

The word *duḥkha* is generally translated as 'suffering',[111] 'pain'[112], 'ill,'[113] 'misery',[114] or 'unhappiness'.[115] These equivalents may not be specifically efficient to convey the exact philosophical

meaning of the term *duḥkha*,[116] but we have to employ one or the other of these equivalents. The Sanskrit word *duḥkha* is understood to denote 'uneasiness, pain, sorrow, trouble, or difficulty'.[117] The basic reality of suffering is more or less felt by every sentient being in day-to-day life. As suffering is self-evident, it is intelligible even without giving much thought to it. Suffering, a very commonplace experience of everyday life, is defined by Schopenhaur as 'impeded volition'.[118] The Buddha's explanation of Suffering, as invariably accepted by all schools of Buddhism is based on this simple fact.

"And what, monks, is the Āryan truth of Suffering ? It is this, namely, that birth is Suffering, disease is Suffering, death is Suffering, association with what is not dear is Suffering, separation from what is dear is Suffering, failure to get what one wants and seeks is Suffering, body is Suffering, feeling is Suffering, perception is Suffering, the *saṃskāras* (pre-dispositions) are Suffering, consciousness is Suffering, in a word all the five skandhas of grasping at material things are Suffering".[119]

If Suffering means in short the five agglomerations (*skandha*) it would clearly imply that the whole world is nothing more than a mere conglomeration of different and numerous forms of suffering. An average man would naturally oppose this view as an ultra-pessimistic speculation, for he can perceive a lot of pleasure and happiness bestowed on him by way of 'compensation' for those unavoidable oonfrontations with suffering. Why should one worry about somewhat exaggerated details of suffering, he way ask, and completely forget the considerable proportion of happiness enjoyed as a reality in day-to-day life ![120] The Buddha was not unaware of this point of view when he hesitated to preach the dharma, 'the way up against the stream (*pratiśrotagāminaṃ mārgaṃ*)[121] to a people who, having been deceived and drifted for a long time, would definitely resort to what they believe to be the happiness and the pleasure of life. Gautama the Tathāgata has presented us an infallible criterion to determine the nature of happiness and suffering.

This criterion is nothing but the real understanding of the transitoriness and non-selfness of all kinds of phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*). To be united with those we love and like may produce a feeling of happiness, but this happiness is certain to vanish, sooner or later, at the separation from that object ;

and what was heretofore felt and enjoyed as happiness shall thereby assume its real form of sorrow and suffering. Even the reminiscence of that happiness would now lead us to an abyss of misery, dejection and suffering. All kinds of worldly happiness are thus bound to prove momentary; and whatever that is transitory is, according to the Buddha's Teaching, not to be called happiness.[122]

Buddhism acknowledges the existence of what can in general terms be called happiness, joy and ecstasy.[123] There are higher spheres of heavens where all kinds of sensual pleasures are available, but they are also not ever-lasting, and are liable to change and reversal (*adhruvā anityā viparināmadharmā*).[124] Thus it becomes clear that the ultimate criterion of Suffering is transitoriness.

(*b*) *The Origin of Suffering* (*duḥkha-samudaya*)

In view of the fact that there can be no effect without a cause, Suffering must certainly have some underlying cause which brings about the reality of *duḥkha*. The second Noble Truth deals with this cause, from which are originated the various forms of Suffering. Doctrinal discourses found throughout the Scripture hold that the origin of Suffering is desire or craving (*tṛṣṇā*). The Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra explains it in the following words :

"Then what is the Āryan truth of the uprising of Suffering ? That it is the craving which leads to further existence and which is bound up with the passion for pleasure, finding delight in this and that—this is the Āryan truth of the uprising of Suffering."[125]

The Buddhist term *tṛṣṇā* (Pali.*taṇhā*) is rendered as 'craving'[126] 'desire',[127] or in its literal sense, as 'thirst'[128] or *soif*.[129] The word has no doubt been applied in the Buddha's discourses in its broadest sense. This root-cause of all Suffering is said to be of three modes, *i.e.* craving for material objects (*kāma-tṛṣṇā*), craving for continuous existence (*bhava-tṛṣṇā*) and craving for absolute annihilation after death (*vibhava-tṛṣṇā*).[130] Attention may be drawn to the qualifying words that have been employed to describe *tṛṣṇā*. The *sūtra* has three such descriptive words, appended to the term, *i.e.* *paunarbhavikā* (leading to re-birth), *nandirāga-sahagatā* (bound up with the passion for pleasure), and *tatra-tatrābhinandinī* (finding delight in this or that).

These three adjectives are to convey the idea of the deep-rooted potency and pervasiveness of *tṛṣṇā* which not only causes continuous existence, but also makes the being cling and adhere to that becoming. The alarming truth as to how far this craving is responsible for Suffering is revealed when we recall the fact that the Buddha's explanation of *duḥkha* insists that birth, old age, disease and death are all but misery and suffering. Now it is beyond dispute that all these obnoxious varieties of Suffering do exist in dependence on birth (*jāti*) from which are originated old age and sickness (*iarā-maraṇa*), etc. These are the most disheartening phenomena that form different manifestations of Suffering; a reality that each and every one of us has to face. Prince Siddhārtha could not find pleasure in life which he clearly saw to be subject to old age, disease, death and decay. Had there been no suffering as such, life would definitely have been an object of pleasure and happiness.[131] But this being inconceivable, one is left helpless in the interminable mesh of Suffering.

The Buddha, sitting at the foot of the bodhi tree, acquired during the first two watches of that silent night two superhuman faculties of wisdom, *i.e.* the divine eye (*divya-cakṣu*) and the knowledge and discernment of recollecting former lives (*pūrve-nivāsānusmṛti-jñāna*), which preceded the culminating accomplishment of the Enlightenment. Through the first faculty the Master perceived how the entire *saṃsāra* is evolved and revolves in an endless chain of rebirth. He beheld beings passing away and coming to birth again, and also their different states which were in accordance with their *karma* (volitional acts).[132] He then perceived through the second faculty of Supreme Knowledge the endless cycle of former existences. No beginning can really be ascertained of the phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*), and the being, the stage and the performer of this tragedy is Suffering. Life is, in fact, nothing more than 'a play which with consciousness as the machine and the feelings as the actors produce its various scenes. The threefold stage is the condition of men in the six different spheres of existence. There enter upon the stage craving and fond affection, and hundreds of deep-seated lusts. From an infinite time past this play goes on, deceiving, entangling and destroying... '[133]

From the foregoing passages it becomes clear that the incessant round of rebirth is caused by craving which can be seen in the

two aspects of *karma* and *bhava*. Another passage in the Mv. also corroborates this. Answering a question raised by the Venerable Śārīputra, the Buddha states that a thing is brought into being by the three coadjutant factors of ignorance (*avidyā*), craving (*tṛṣṇā*) and the force of action (*karma*).[134] Hence it is declared in the second Noble Truth that the origin of Suffering is *tṛṣṇā* that leads to the endless cycle of existence in the three planes of becoming (*tri-bhava*).[135]

Inasmuch as the whole aggregate of the phenomenal existence comprising these three planes is exposed to Suffering which is inseparably associated with birth, the only way out of Suffering is to acquire the cessation of birth. The third Noble Truth pertains to this cessation or annihilation of Suffering which is the sublime goal, possible to be achieved through proper means.

(C) *Cessation of Suffering* (*duḥkha-nirodha*)

The third Noble Truth nullifies the one-sided and baseless view that Buddhism means a teaching of so-called 'ultra-passimism' with which some hostile critics tend to charge the *dharma*[136] Dr. Har Dayal pointed out that though the first three Noble Truths do 'suggest pessimism', yet the fourth Noble Truth of the Path 'breathes a spirit of optimism'.[137] The teaching of the Buddha not only points out the reality of Suffering, but also promulgates that a way out of Suffering does exist whence no Buddhist is required to be miserable and pessimistic.[138] Suffering taken as the effect, it is but logical to say that in order to get rid of *duḥkha* one must exterminate its foremost cause, *i.e.* craving or thirst. The *sūtra* continues :

"Then what is the Āryan truth of the cessation of Suffering ? It is the utter extinction (*aśeṣakṣayo*) of this craving which is bound up with the passion for pleasure, finding delight in this and that; it is passionlessness, cessation, self-sacrifice, renunciation and surrender".[139]

In other words, the third Noble Truth points to *nirvāṇa*, emancipation from death and birth, which is to be attained by the complete destruction of craving.[140] An accurate interpretation of *nirvāṇa* has been a difficult task for students of Buddhism. Ancient Buddhist thinkers and modern scholars have tried their best and arrived at conclusions which are not always in harmony with one another.[141] The Mv. forwards more or less the same des-

cription of *nirvāṇa* that we find in the earliest Pali compositions. The original conception of nirvāṇa is more frequently described in negative forms, due to the obvious fact that the language is not an effective medium to express the absolute reality.[142]

It is, following our text, the cessation of the continuity of becoming (*bhava-nirodha*), the ultimate destination from which there is no returning (*acyuta*). *Nirvāṇa* is the absence of death (*amṛta*) and it is free from peril (*nirantarya*), grief (*aśoka*), and woeful experiences of old age, disease and death as well as other forms of Suffering. It is described as the eternal deliverance from Suffering (*nirantara-duḥkha-mokṣaṃ*).[143] *Nirvāṇa* is achieved through the annihilation of craving, and hence known as *tṛṣṇā-kṣaya*.[144] This brings out another definition of *nirvāṇa*, *viz.*, it is the utter destruction of both the forces of merit (*puṇya*) and demerit (*pāpa*). Merit and sin are only the two relative aspects of *karma*, the destruction of which can mean but the destruction of the prominent cause of Suffering, i.e. *tṛṣṇā*, which leads beings to accumulate *karmas*.

On the other hand, *nirvāṇa* is spoken of, from its positive angle, as the greatest happiness, the *summum bonum*. It is equated with an oasis (*kṣemaṃ*) which one may reach after crossing the desert of *saṃsāra*. Arriving at that oasis, one becomes immune from old age, death and disease; and finds no toil or suffering.[145] It is also explained as a patch of land (*sthala*) to be reached by crossing the deep and unfathomable ocean of *saṃsāra*.[146] These particular analogies seem quite apposite and capable of conveying the idea of security and tranquillity. *Nirvāṇa* is also described as absolute equanimity, unshakable by vicissitudes and emotions.[147] It is true that the Mv. refers to an exclusive destination of bliss and peace which it designates as *brahmaloka* and *brahmapura*.[148] But this is evidently only another example proving the free borrowing from the pre-Buddhist folk-lore, which had attracted the propagators of Buddhism by its richness in ethical consideration, and as such, it cannot be regarded as substantiating the view that the Buddhist concept of *nirvāṇa* is identical with Upaniṣadic *brahman*.

The attainment of *nirvāṇa* comprises, according to the ancient Buddhist exposition, two phases, namely, the *sopādi* (=*sopādhi*)-*śeṣa-nirvāṇa* (*nirvāṇa* with residue), and *nirupādi* (=*nirupādhi*)-*śeṣa-nirvāṇa* (*nirvāṇa* without residue). The first signifies the

realization of Supreme Reality, and the emancipation from desire acquired thereby whereas the second phase means the final extinction of all kinds of suffering, the very existence. *Upādhi* is a philosophical term denoting 'substratum of continued existence, attachment, bond uniting one to existence.'[149] Sometimes the word upādhi or *upādi* stands for the five groups of sense-organs. An arhat is free from the *upādhis* in the former sense of the term, but he would possess as long as he lives, the *upādhis* (=*upādis*) of existence in the latter sense. Though he is entirely free from all bonds of *saṃsāra*, his life continues without accumulating new *karmas*. The *nirvāṇa* experienced while remaining alive is therefore called *sopādhiśeṣa-nirvāṇa* and when his body and life cease to exist he becomes finally extinguished, just like a fire is extinguished for want of fuel.[150]

It is to be remarked, however, that *nirvāṇa* is always referred to as the *dharma* or the *dhātu* that is not produced in dependence on another thing. We shall be in error if we understand that *nirvāṇa* is the result of the annihilation of craving. That is why it is specially termed as the 'unconditioned' (*asaṃskṛta*).[151] *Nirvāṇa* is the realization through which one perceives things as they are (*yathābhūtam*).[152] It is the insight one attains on realizing the impermanence of the *skandhas*, "their instability, their frailty, their changeableness, their evanescence and their perishableness"[153], and thereby attaining to the cessation of the impurities or defilements (*āśravas*).[154]

(*d*) *The Path Leading to the Cessation of Suffering* (*duḥkha-nirodha-gāmini-pratipad*)

"Then what is the Āryan truth of the course that leads to the stopping of Suffering? That is the Āryan eight-fold way, namely, right belief, right purpose, right speech, right action, right living, right endeavour, right mindfulness, and right concentration— this, monks, is the Āryan truth of the course that leads to the stopping of Suffering."[155]

The fourth Noble Truth elaborates the Path leading to *nirvāṇa*. It comprises the whole course of conduct that would relieve a being from Suffering. In order to distinguish it from the two extremes of addiction to sensual enjoyment and addiction to self-mortification, the Noble Path has been called 'the Middle Path' (*madhyamā-pratipad*), which is the way for enlightenment.[156]

The Mv. does not go into the details of the Noble Eightfold Path, and we do not get a full elaboration of the *ārya-aṣṭāṅga-mārga* from our text, although we come across some occasional references to it. The tradition explains the Eightfold Path in three divisions, in accordance with the three modes of instruction (*śikṣā*), *viz.*, morality (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*prajñā*).[157]

Pratītya-samutpāda

The most important teaching of the Buddha's Doctrine is known to us as *pratītya-samutpāda* (Pali.Paṭicca-samuppāda). This subtle formula of the origin and annihilation of duḥkha is generally regarded as the most difficult part of the Buddha's Doctrine.[158] The concept incorporated in this profound chain of twelve links (*nidāna*) being so plain and at the same time so complicated, it is no wonder that the formula of *pratītya-samutpāda* is by nature *une chose dificile a saisir pour l'humanite.*[159]

The Term *pratītya-samutpāda* has been translated to English in several ways although it is generally known as 'dependent origination'. It is variously rendered by scholars as 'the formula of causal origination',[160] 'the formula of origination through dependence',[161] or *la system de la production en dependence.*[162] Oldenberg translated it as the formula of the 'Causal Nexus of being',[163] and Keith, as 'the formula of dependent (literally going towards) production'.[164] Warder renders it as 'conditioned origination'.[165] The term 'Conditioned coproduction', coined by Edward Conze, is acknowledged by Bhikṣu Sangharakṣita as the nearest equivalent to the original meaning of the term.[166] *Pratītya-samutpāda* is the formula which explains the production of things in dependence on some other things. Side by side with the definition and determination of the five *skandhas*, it underlies the all-important theory of *anātman*, the former inculcating the concept in an analytic way, the latter, in a synthetic way.[167]

The authenticity of *pratītya-samutpāda* as a teaching belonging to primitive Buddhism has been called in question. It has been pointed out that certain accounts of the Enlightenment do not mention it.[168] Our authority also presents such an account, without referring to this vital teaching,[169] the absence of which may pose a problem of historical significance. But

it is also important to remark that the formula of conditioned co-production is universally admitted by all schools of Buddhist thought as a basic teaching of Buddhism.[170] However, it cannot be without a strong reason that we find some short and incomplete forms of *pratītya-samutpāda* at several places.[171] There are also some other casual references to it, without elaboration.[172]

To have an idea regarding the philosophical value of the theory of conditioned co-production, it is to be borne in mind that Buddhism does not repudiate the concept of rebirth. From the inconceivably long past the individual being, subject to the law of transmigration, is wandering in the endless circle of metempsychosis, carrying a heap of diverse *karmas*. What were the causes and conditions that eventuated the continuity of the being's existence? And how shall it be possible to put an end to this repeated and wearisome circle of rebirth? The Buddha's reply to these formidable questions finds expression in the formula of *pratītya-samutpāda*. It stresses that all kinds of phenomenal existence are conditioned; are arisen because of a certain cause (*pratītya-samutpanna*). "When this exists", the logic runs, "that appears; when this is destroyed, that disappears".[173] The manifestation of Suffering, *i.e.* birth, old age, disease and death (*idaṃ*) come into being in dependence on some effective conditions (*imasmiṃ sati*), and in the absence of these conditions (*imasmim asati*) those conditioned phenomena would cease to exist (*idaṃ na hoti*). Thus it becomes possible to present the whole Doctrine of the Master in a pithy couplet that has been universally adopted to signify the Teaching:

"The Tathāgata has proclaimed the cause and also the cessation of all the things that proceed from a cause. This is the Great Recluse's doctrine."[174]

This formula of *pratītya-samutpāda* comprises twelve links (*nidāna*), each having the previous one as cause (*pratyaya*). They are enumerated as follows :

(i) ignorance (*avidyā*), (ii) volitional actions (*saṃskāra*), (iii) consciousness (*vijñāna*), (iv) individuality or name and form (*nāma-rūpa*), (v) six sense organs (*ṣaḍāyatana*), (vi) contact (*sparśa*), (vii) feeling or sensation (*vedanā*), (viii) thirst or craving (*tṛṣṇā*), (ix) grasping or clinging (*upādāna*),

(x) coming-to-be (*bhava*), (xi) birth (*jāti*), and, (xii) decay and death (*jarā-maraṇa*).

This is called 'the direct order' (*anuloma*) of the formula which explains the origination of Suffering.[175] The same links are arranged in the reverse order (*pratiloma*) in order to explain the way out of this Wheel of Becoming (*bhava-cakra*). In consequence of the cessation of cause the effect depending on it also disappears. The cessation (*nirodha*) of ignorance results in the cessation of *saṃskāras*, the cessation of which in its turn results in the cessation of *vijñāna* and so on.[176]

While referring to becoming and cessation, it is feared that one might fall into one of the two heretic extremes of eternality (*śāśvata*) and annihilation (*uccheda*) after death. The idea of rebirth may appear to the deluded mind as supporting the speculations of an eternal soul, whereas the possibility of cessation as enunciated in the second half of the formula would sound to some others as giving the impression of utter annihilation following death. The law of Conditioned co-production functioning as a norm falling between these two extremes,[177] dismisses both of them on the basis that there does not exist any element which can be called soul or self (*ātman*) that becomes eternal by continuous existence, or is annihilated at the moment of the cessation of Suffering. To make this issue a little more explicit, we are required to get acquainted with the theory of non-ego (*anātman*) which is briefly elucidated in our authority.

The doctrine of *anātman* is one of the most peculiar and dynamic aspects of Buddhism. Along with the other two features of impermanence (*anitya*) and painfulness (*duḥkha*) it constitutes the three characteristics (lakṣaṇa) of the Teaching. The term *anātman* can be rendered as 'not-self' or 'not-the-I'.[178] In the systems of Indian philosophy *ātmā* is that primordial element existent within the individual and immanent throughout the cosmos, the essential characteristics of it being eternity, substantiality, and masterhood. According to the Buddhist theory of universal transitoriness (*sarvam anityam*), the existence of any permanent element is by no means tenable. On the contrary, the Doctrine of the Śākyamuni refutes the existence of such a self on the strength of two arguments :

(i) Whatever that is beyond our command and control cannot be pertaining to the 'self', for it would contradict the

fundamental characteristics of the concept. While recording the very important discourse delivered by the Buddha to the Magadhan brahmins and householders, the Mv. forwards this argument against the theory of *ātman*.[179]

At another place the text presents the theory of *anātman* in the form of a discourse to the monks, which is the Buddhist Sanskrit version of the Pali *anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*. In this exposition, too, it is proved that none of the five aggregates, namely, the body, feeling, perception, *saṃskāras* and consciousness can be self inasmuch as all of them are liable to affliction and ill, and are not at the command of oneself. And there is no other constituent, except for these five groups of skandhas that forms part of individuality.

"Therefore, monks," the Buddha exhorts, "on this point, you must teach yourself thus : whatever is body, internal, gross or fine, base or choice, far or near, past, future or present, it must be seen as it really is in the light of right knowledge, namely, that all this body is not mine, is not I, is not my self. Whatever is feeling, whatever is perception, whatever are *saṃskāras*, whatever is consciousness, internal or external, gross or fine, base or choice, far or near, past, future or present, all this consciousness is not mine, is not I, is not my self. Thus must you see as it really is in the light of perfect knowledge".[180]

(ii) The premise that all compound things (*saṃskṛta*) are transient and liable to change underlies the second argument. According to the doctrine of *pratītya-samutpāda*, all the twelve links of the phenomenal existence are conditioned and produced. And whatever that is originated in dependence of another thing is not eternal. For instance, says the text, take the production of the visual consciousness (*rūpa-vijñāna*). When the sense-organ of eye, it is pointed out, comes in contact with an outward sense object (*āyatana*), there is produced a visual consciousness.[181] It is in the same way that the other five *vijñānas*, *viz.*, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile and mental consciousnesses are produced.[182] These states causally produce joy, ease and satisfaction, and gratify the faculties, but, being causally arisen, they are 'not the self, nor belonging to the self; but are void of self and of anything belonging to the self'.[183] What we regard as the sentient existence of an individual is nothing but the mere synthesis of five aggregates (*skandhas*). Analysed into their

respective groups or heaps, they would show no sign of anything that can be described as the eternal, blissful *ātman*. Hence the Buddha's Teaching, as represented in the Mv. and in all other canonical and non-canonical works, categorically refutes the existence of *ātman*.[184]

Worldly Pleasures (kāma)

The futile and pernicious nature of sensual pleasures has been thoroughly inculcated throughout the text. These pleasures are of five kinds, in relation to the five sense-organs, namely, sensual pleasures related to the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and touch.[185] Worldly beings are bound and fettered to *saṃsāra* by these illusive sensual pleasures. Kāma is the designation signifying the abstract sense of desire and attachment on the one hand, and the substantial possessions and enjoyments on the other. The former is described as having been generated out of false discrimination (*saṃkalpa*),[186] and by desiring offspring, cattle, wealth or anything as such, one would only be intensifying one's *kāma*. Kāma from its latter angle becomes synonymous with Māra, the Evil One. Wealth and profane possessions like sons and cattle, the most valuable as well as desirable objects for Indians since the Vedic period,[187] are thus depicted as the fetters of Māra.[188] These snares and fetters (*mārabandhana*) are to be cut off by means of the sharp weapon of wisdom (*prajñā*).[189]

It is the nature of sensual pleasures, advocates the text, that they never make anyone satisfied and tired of enjoying them. On the contrary, they amplify the being's desire and accelerate his endeavour to enjoy more and more of worldly pleasures.[190] The foolish common being cannot find himself satisfied with less or more *kāma*. The only way to become happy is to leave these plebeian attachments and enjoyments which are incapable of satiating the insatiate mind, and perceive reality as an awakened one.[191] Thus the description of the vanity and futility of worldly pleasures consummate in evaluating renunciation which is always praised in high tones. Abjuring worldly pleasures (*kāma*) in which only fools can find delight, one attains stable and solid happiness. Renunciation is the path to that state of supreme bliss.[192]

Renunciation is required for the life of flawless religious con-

duct, since it is but impossible for one who dwells at home to live the 'wholly bright, the wholly blameless, the wholly pure and the wholly clean *brahmacariya*'.[193] In order to attain immortality one should abandon the thoughts of 'I' and 'mine', and be intent on mind, compassionate and aloof, and abstain from sensual pleasures.[194]

Among other points of doctrinal importance mentioned in our text, five hindrances (*pañca-nīvāraṇa*), seven elements conducive to enlightenment (*sapta-bodhyaṅga*), and five floods (*pañca-ogha*) are notable.[195] But we do not find these points sufficiently elaborated in the Mv.

(ii) *The Training* (*vinaya*)

Relying upon the claim of the Mv. that it forms part of the *Vinaya*, we may expect our text to present a more comprehensive and vivid picture of the ethical and disciplinary aspects of the Norm. But, it is not without adequate reason that scholars have lamented over the unusual indifference of the compilers in dealing with their promised topic. Materials of disciplinary significance, scattered throughout the textual body of the work, however, can be gathered to make a mosaic representing the compilers' viewpoint in this regard. As no sharp. and clear-cut line of distinction can be drawn between the materials of ethical interest and disciplinary exhortations, we may better study them together.

The Bhikṣu and His Vocation

The Buddhist *saṅgha* (Fraternity or Brotherhood) was founded on the successful conclusion of the auspicious Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra at the Deer Park in Vārāṇasī. The members who joined the Community came from diverse social strata and different religious backgrounds. The number of monks increased rapidly, whence the Teacher of gods and men (*śāstā deva-manuṣyāṇāṃ*) had to assume the attribute *puruṣa-damya-sārathi*, the Tamer of Men. The Enlightened One undertakes to train and tame all those who are keen and sincere to adhere to the letter and spirit of the discipline, after following which they will display no more indiscipline whatsoever. The Buddha makes this solemn proclamation:

"There is no malice in one trained by me. Among such,

O Kāśyapa, there is none that is unrestrained. Though the heavens fall or the earth be cleaved in two, a man who has been tamed by the Buddha will fare immune of passion".[196]

The coenobitic life is in general known as *brahmacarya* in contrast with the household life.[197] A royal disciple may well express his faith in the Master by declaring that he is the follower (*śrāvaka*) and the Buddha is the Teacher (*śāstā*),[198] but in general usage they are known by the terms *śramaṇa*,[199] *pravrajita* or *bhikṣu*, denoting the religious outside the Brahmanic pale. Bhikṣus are known among themselves by the term *sabrahmacārī*.[200] While talking to one another, *bhikṣus* use the term *āyuṣmān*, whereas they were called in honour by inferior ones as *ārya*.[201] As for the gradation among the members of the *saṅgha*, we find the text referring to the three grades of *sthavira*, *madhyama* and *navaka*.[202]

With regard to ordination and the code of discipline, the Mv. leaves us in the dark except for a few incidental references.[203] It has been suggested that there was no systematic and formal way of ordination in the early days of the *saṅgha*. Admission into the Order was probably conducted by the new-comer's expressing his willingness to become a monk, and the Buddha's acceptance of him as a *bhikṣu* (Pali.*bhikkhu*).[204] That this was the method current among other religious systems also is evidenced by the accounts of the Buddha's early wanderings.[205] All ordinations that occurred during the inceptive period of the Buddha's mission were conducted by the utterance of the simple formula of 'Come Monk' (*ehi-bhikkhu*).[206]

That there was no ceremonious procedure concerning the admission into the Order can be seen in the narrative of Rāhula's ordination, too. The young princeling was the first novice admitted to the Order, and in all probability the first member of the Community to be ordained in a formal way. From this account we learn that a novice (*śrāmanera*) was ordained by his taking refuge in the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha*, by uttering a formula in which his name was also included,[207] whereafter he had to take the vow of the ten moral precepts (*daśa-śīla*). Having shaved his head, and put on the yellow robe (*kāṣāya*), he would adopt a bed of straw, the symbol of simple and self-denying life.[208]

The vocation of a *bhikṣu* (literally-'beggar') or a *pravrajita*

(wanderer) was not an easy undertaking. Renouncing the secure and comfortable life at home, he shall adopt the placid but uncertain vocation of lonely life. Instead of luxurious beds he would lie on a spreading of straw and grass on the ground, and find his seat at the foot of a tree. His food is to be obtained by begging, and this may require him to accept meal even from very low and mean classes of society. As there are both friendly and unfriendly people, he has of necessity to bear patiently and silently the snorting mouths of incredulous men. Having left delicious and nourishing meals at home, he would now eat cast-off morsels of food. He is expected to collect the discarded rags from the cemetery for clothing purposes, and dwell in forest tracts which comprise haunted woods full of dreadful noises such as the roaring of lions and tigers, and cries of jackals.[209] Howevermuch discomfort these obligations may entail, yet the monk still has his mind's peace, and he knows that the Buddha himself has set the first example of all this for the Order. His acquaintance with the touching accounts of the Master's severe mortifications would always inspire a *bhikṣu* who adopts the simple and serene vocation of monkhood. His faith in the Enlightened One is unshaken (*saprasādo*) and his faith in the Teaching, immutable (*prasanno buddhaśāsane*).[210]

The spiritual training of a monk is to be a well-guided and sincere one. Despite the fact that our text displays a disheartening paucity in respect of the disciplinary rules and their interpretations, one might still find references to the general outlook of a monk's training. The most important as well as difficult task in this training is that a *bhikṣu* must always live with the doors of his six senses well-guarded.[211] With the determination to accomplish this laborious objective, he would take measures such as observing abstemiousness, applying himself to vigilance and endeavour, and being indefatigably strenuous. He must incessantly abide in the observation of the proper ways while standing, walking and sitting,[212] in short, in each and every mode of movement in day-to-day life.

The sole object of the *bhikṣu* being the attainment of passionlessness, he must be specially vigilant against lust and lustful objects. His self-control must necessarily be of the highest rank,[213] especially when he happens to come in contact with women, the 'sworn-enemy' of the universal institution of ecclesi-

astics.[214] The woman may turn out to be the crafty agent of Māra, who would seek to entrap him in the snares of passion, and lead into captivity like an elephant captured from the forest.[215] They cannot at any rate be avoided completely, for they would come to the *vihāra* to make obeisance to the Exalted One (*bhagavato pādavandiyo*). What should be done when a *bhikṣu* happens to set his eyes on these 'gracious and beautiful ladies bedecked with jewels' (*prāsādikā darśanīyā ābharaṇabharitā*)? In such circumstances the monk must, demands the disciplinary rule, control and restrain himself by treating elderly ladies like his own mother, and with regard to young ladies, bearing in mind the real nature of composite things.[216]

Those who do not mould their religious career in accordance with these injunctions and instruction would be causing a great harm to the Order and Faith.[217] The Mv. refers to the disciplinary rule prohibiting the *gaṇa-bhojana* as a measure taken by the Tathāgata to curb wicked persons who, 'banding together out of greed, cause disputes, wranglings, squabbling and quarrelling, contention and mischief in the *Saṅgha*'.[218]

The *bhikṣu* should indeed follow the path of discipline (*śikṣitavyaṃ*) and train himself according to the Buddha's instruction and exhortation (*karaṇīyo ovādo karaṇīyo anuśāsanī*).[219] He is supposed to cultivate good and proper conduct abiding by the moral code, and discern the peril and danger of the minutest faults (*anumātreṣu avadyeṣu bhaya-darśāvī*).[220]

Morality (*śīla*) is the best and superb wealth that is possessed by a *bhikṣu*. The observation of morality of a monk is said to be of four divisions.[221] The Mv. makes mention of the *śīlas* of abiding by the code of precepts (*prātimokṣa-saṃvara*), restraining sense-organs (*indriya-saṃvara*), and righteous living (*pariśuddha-ājiva*).[222] Monks characteristically prefer solitude, live in peaceful segregation and roam about as free as deer.[223] They are required to practise and meditate upon the four supreme states (*brahma-vihāra*),[224] so that they may 'win through to the sphere of calm, the immovable sphere of *nirvāṇa*'.[225] The absolute refuge and light of the *bhikṣu* should be nothing but the Docrine, which he fully recognizes to be his delight and pride. He meditates on the *dharma* and even bears it in mind as a result of which he does not fall away from the true *dharma*.[226]

The Buddhist monk is known as *bhikṣu* because he gets his

sustenance through begging for alms. Now asking for something in a tone which implies obligation or compulsion is by no means a pleasant thing ; and the Buddhist moral code does not overlook the fact that the beggar who asks and the begged who does not choose to be generous are both equally liable to become objects of dislike.[227] Begging as well as refusal may sound, according to an ancient saying, like virtual weeping.[228] That is why the wise man does not ask for anything. Monks, while on their alms-begging, should not therefore talk, nor should they ask for food, but stand-by and show their alms-bowls,[229] a method described in the text as the Āryan way of begging (*āryāna yācanā*). They are not to utter expressions of gratitude or blessing on receiving alms, and should remain equally unmoved and sedate even when they are not offered anything.[230]

Although the Buddhist monk has to live in a wood or at the foot of a tree, exposed to the mercy of cold and heat and be dependent on others for his subsistence, yet his is not a wretched or unfortunate life. On the contrary, he is counted among the happiest in the world. With few wishes and restrained sense-organs, he finds his heart fortified with calm and ease.[231] As the happy result of this sacred and noble life he receives salutation from gods and men.[232] One may still wonder how a humble monk, shaven-headed and yellow-robed, who has no relatives and friends can be happy and content, and lead his life in the open air.[233] The serene voice of the Buddhist monkhood reverberating throughout the Scripture would answer such a question in the following manner:

'Even a kingdom means nothing to a monk who fares all alone. He goes from village to village and traverses kingdoms and towns and still nobody hinders him. There may be robbers on the way he takes, but he, with his sole possessions of bowl and robe, has nothing to fear, and ever moves in security and safety. He has nothing to loose even when the whole city is burning aflame. There is no need for him to hoard in granaries, pots and baskets, begging being his only source of provisions. Although the members of the Fraternity hail from different castes and different provinces, yet they maintain friendly feelings of solidarity among themselves. Such are the advantages and blessings of the poor and homeless state of monkhood'.[234]

Buddhism does not recognize merely the outward appearance

as sufficient for one to claim himself to be a true son of the Buddha. Our authority declares in plain words that one does not become a *bhikṣu* just because he begs alms from others,[235] and that he is not counted as a monk so long as he harbours indisciplinary thoughts. On the other hand, he who, living the life of *brahmacāri*, condemns sensual pleasures and follows the path of the Buddha is in truth to be called a *bhikṣu*.[236] He must be discreet and intelligent. Being glad and complacent, as his heart is uncontaminated by worldly desires, and surmounting both pleasant and unpleasant alike, and being assiduous in religious vocation, he draws nearer and nearer to *nirvāṇa*.[237]

The Laity (upāsaka-upāsikā)

The benefits of the Buddha's Doctrine are not reserved only for those who are prepared to renounce the secular life. As a matter of fact, the Tathāgata's Dispensation consists of four assemblies, *i.e. bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas* and *upāsikās* the first two representing the *saṅgha* (in its general sense), and the last two, the lay followers of the Faith. The *śāsana* of *upāsakas* (devouts) was, in point of facts founded even before the foundation of the Fraternity;[238] and theirs is according to some observers *un rôle au moins aussi important*.[239]

Scores of scholars have expressed the view that the Buddha's teaching was meant for some selected people rather than to be of common validity for house-holders and recluses alike. The overwhelming stress laid on renunciation of household life seems to be partly responsible for this idea. A reference to the Buddha's way of teaching and preaching, found in Buddhist texts is often seen quoted as a proof to substantiate this somewhat precipitate conclusion. It is of course said in the Scriptures that Buddha used to examine the psychological condition of the listener before he started preaching. For the average men and women he would not directly expound the quintessence of his Teaching, but deliver a primary exhortation by way of an edifiying discourse; that is to say, a discourse 'on charity, morality, heavens, merit and the ripening of merit'.[240] The Buddha's characteristic doctrine of the four Noble Truths was, according to the ancient tradition, preached to the follower only after his

psychological attitude had become apt for receiving that abstruse teaching upon which he would adopt the mode of full-fledged religious life.

The critics are on the right track insofar as they adroitly distinguish the two ways of the Buddha's preaching. It is but to add to the Buddha's eminence that he had his own way of preaching, efficacious and effective, which formed a constituent in his three types of miracles (*prātihārya*),[241] But it is hardly justifiable to hold that the Enlightened One's exhortations on general points of ethics, usually delivered to newcomers, had the implication that the best part of the Doctrine was reserved for a smaller number of people.

If we take into account the passages in which the reference to such preliminary exhortations occurs, we cannot fail to see that they are invariably delivered to those who are either not familiar with the Buddha's personality or mentally not fit to realize the Noble Truth all at once. Yaśoda arrived at the Buddha's feet in that quiet midnight, his mind having been shattered and deprived of peace. The Master first delivered a general religious discourse in order to calm and quieten his mind (*prāsādanīyāṃ kathāṃ*).[242] When Yaśoda's mental condition became refined consequently, the Buddha explained to him the Four Noble Truths. When King Bimbisāra approached the Buddha,[243] the latter did not deem it necessary to employ this method of preaching. Besides, Bimbisāra as well as Yaśoda's parents, it should be remarked, did not abandon the homelife although they are said to have attained insight to the *dharma*.

This would point to the fact that the Buddha's teaching did not seek to impose renunciation of homelife as the sole way of deliverance.[244] Renunciation of hatred, desire and ignorance would always be appreciated, but even remaining as a householder one may attain *nirvāṇa*. The remark made by some heretical religioses on the occasion of Yaśoda's miraculous performances can be quoted as a proof to disqualify the view that deliverance in Buddhism was meant possible only for those who became monks and nuns. This peculiar remark seems to stress that even a layman, not departed from his usual way of comfortable life, can realize the *dharma* and attain to the ultimate emancipation.[245] Outward appearance is of no importance, declares the message of the Buddha,[246] and mere paraphernalia

of religious life would not serve the purpose of attaining spiritual liberation. Even without such outward symbols of religious vocation, on the other hand, one may acquire *nirvāṇa*, though remaining as a householder, by following the Path.[247] Ghaṭīkāra the potter, as we know from different sources,[248] did not renounce the home life and still lived a life of virtue and piety whereby he maintained an exemplary friendship with the Buddha of his time.

After all, that the householder is not in a position to practise *brahmacarya* at length is admitted ipso facto. Therefore, the main duty of the householder is to lead a life of righteousness and cultivate those qualities which would help him renounce the sensual pleasures. Various authorities of the Buddhist canon maintain that the householder should possess and develop the five qualities of faith, morality, charity, knowledge of Scripture, and wisdom or intuition.[249] The Mv. also appears to corroborate this opinion as to the duties of a householder.

Faith in the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha* is one of the basic conditions for one to become a Buddhist.[250] Householders are expected to be devoted towards the Doctrine (*śāsane śraddhā-prasanno*) and loyal to the sacred Triad (*buddha-dharma-saṅgha-maṅgalo.*)[251] They would always honour and esteem the Triple Gem (*ratna-traya*), *viz.*, the Buddha who shows the Path, the Doctrine which leads them to calmness (*dharmaṃ opaśamaṃ*) and the *saṅgha* who are the repository of virtue (*saṅghaṃ guṇa-sāgaraṃ.*)[252] They would serve and respect the Buddha as well as the *saṅgha* in all possible ways, such as prostration (*abhivādana*), salutation (*añjalikaraṇa*), rising from the seat to welcome them (*pratyutthāna*), and waiting upon them (*vaiyāvṛtta*).[253] By performing these deeds he will acquire an abundant store of merits by means of which he will attain heavenly abodes after death.[254] The *saṅgha* is particularly spoken of as 'the field of merit' (*puṇyakṣetra*)[255] where the householder can sow the seeds of merit that would yield him human and superhuman happiness.

Faith makes one believe in those who are worthy of honour and gift; and by offering even a trivial thing with gracious and cheerful mind (*prasannacitta*) one earns a great heap of merit, for the Buddha and the *saṅgha* are the receptacles of immeasurable qualities worthy of praise.[256] The necessity of merit

is great and indispensable, as it is on the strength of merit that beings flourish and prosper. "The meritorious ones grow like the banyan tree in fertile soil", says a didactic stanza, "but the unrighteous ones wither like trees growing in the roadway."[257]

Morality is the second quality that is to be possessed by all without exception. The immoral man, whether a *bhikṣu* or a layman, is not to be regarded as a disciple of the Buddha.[258] Heaven is not hard to win through morality; and he who follows morality naturally becomes dear to all wherever he goes.[259] He will not only attain happiness in this world and the other, but also see the Tathāgata, and acquire superhuman powers through which he would see all planes of gods.[260] Thus the Mv. inculcates the extreme necessity of practising morality, which is bound to result in blissful conditions for both monks and laity.

The general formula of morality recommended for the lay people is that of five precepts (*pañca-śīla*).[261] It does not seem likely that these five precepts of morality were intended in the primitive stage of Buddhism to make a stereotyped formula which would signify the moral conduct of the Buddhist laity. None of the early lay converts, *e.g.* Trapuṣa and Bhallika, Yaśoda's parents, Śākyans or King Bimbisāra are seen initiated to Buddhism by these particular precepts. In all probability the idea of regulating the vital points of morality related to the laity represents a developed stage of Buddhism as a religion. The text once refers to five moralities which includes abstention from perjury, uttering lies, adultery, killing, and intoxicants,[262] though they are not specifically mentioned as *pañca-śīla*. The reference in fact bears testimony to a period when morality in Buddhist ethics had not yet come to its final form of codification. The five precepts in their regular form require one to abstain from killing, stealing, carnal promiscuity, falsehood and intoxicants.[263]

There are ten precepts for those who want to practise morality in a more complete way.[264] It was generally meant for novices who enter the Order, but householders are not barred from observing it. The five extra rules of conduct added to the above-mentioned five are concerned with abstention from untimely meals (*vikāla-bhojana*), entertainment of dance and musical performances (*nṛtya-gīta-vādita*), luxuries of garlands, perfumes

and unguents (*mālā-gandha-vilepana*), using comfortable couches and expensive beds (*uccāśayana-mahāśayana*), and accepting gold and silver (*jātarūpa-rajata-pratigrahaṇa*).[265]

The Buddha's teaching being particularly proclaimed for the wise, a Buddhist is necessarily expected to cultivate the faculty of wisdom; and one of the means prescribed as efficient to make one wise and erudite is to listen to the *dharma*. Listening to the dharma (*śruta*) forms the third constituent of the five elementary qualities of a good Buddhist householder. The only way to *nirvāṇa* is to remove ignorance, and insight which repels this *avidyā* is to be acquired through listening to religious persons and scholars. Being a person of excellent learning (*bahuśruta*) is highly conducive to *nirvāṇa* as well as to the betterment of the present life. In order to decide what is good and what is bad, one has to listen to different opinions, though he would not take delight in heretical teachings, and would simply discard such views.[266] Those who are interested in developing their faculty of wisdom and increasing knowledge are advised to practise consorting with the old, the experienced and the learned, questioning them and holding fast to their good words.[267]

Charity makes all other meritorious deeds subservient as the insurpassable power of this foremost merit leads the being to all kinds of happiness. Wherever the ways of acquiring merits are enumerated, *dāna* (charity) is invariably found in the first place. Householders are expected to help maintain the Order by providing all kinds of necessary things such as food, medicines, robes, and dwelling places.[268] It is interesting to remark here that good and devout householders are better known by the terms *dānapati* and *dāyaka*. The faithful is asked to practise charity even in a small scale, for by giving little by little the merit grows into a large heap. Even from the little that one possesses, one should give away something, as giving nothing at all is not proper.[269] Never can be exaggerated the propitious outcomes of the *dāna*. By offering food and other facilities to the *saṅgha*, householders enter heavens with their families,[270] and on the earth, too, they excel others in wealth, health, and social status.[271] The *Dharmapālajātaka* advocates that on account of practising charity on its highest level, the entire family would enjoy a long span of life.[272] Giving to all and giving always should be the target of those who cultivate the

virtue of charity. It is indeed to the credit of Buddhism that it never comes in the way with regard to giving to anybody who is in need of it.[273] *Śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* are to be offered necessary things on account of their high virtues and qualities, whereas the poor, the destitute and beggars are to be given food and other requisites in the name of merit and sympathy.[274]

The Mv. praises the quality of intuition (*prajñā*) in a high tone.[275]

Didactic statements with regard to the happy results of meritorious deeds and unfortunate aftermaths of sinful behaviour are abundant in our authority. Good action is known as *kuśala*, *puṇya*, *dharma*, *śukla* or *kalyāṇa*, whereas bad action is termed *akuśala*, *pāpa*, *adharma*, *kṛṣṇa* or *pāpaka*.[276] Mistaken are they who think that both good and bad deeds yield the same result. The sinner shall be doomed to hell (*naraka*) and woeful states (*durgati*), whereas the righteous one will enjoy the happy fruition of his merit in heaven (*svarga*) and blissful states (*sugati*).[277] Those who never performed a good action and have committed grave sins are certain to be born in Hell.

The text makes mention of the ten meritorious ways of conduct (*daśakuśala-karmapatha*) against its counterpart of the ten sinful ways of conduct (*daśa-akuśala-karmapatha*). The avoidance of the latter is counted in the class of merits in its negative aspect, and the performance of the former, in its positive sense.[278]

Non-violence as indoctrinated in the *Kinnari-jātaka* is regarded as the highest dharma.[279] Other than these essential points of moral conduct, there are many ways and means to accumulate merit. Buddhist treatises have elaborated these ways of earning merit in a more or less identical tone. The Mv. appears to concern itself only with a few of them.

The most attractive meritorious deed for our compilers is, as it seems, paying homage to the Buddha, present and past. The text elaborates how one accomplishes one's wishes by honouring and serving the Buddhas and Pratyeka-buddhas.[280] A whole section of the Avalokita-sūtra is dedicated to enumerating the inexhaustible fruition of worshipping and decorating *stūpas*.[281] It is but strange that our authority, so keen to elaborate and exhort the acquiring of merit, makes no mention of righteous deeds such as the ones enjoined in the AbhidhK. and Aśoka's rock-edicts.[282]

Apart from the colourful and ceremonious ways of honouring *stūpas*, the Mv. magnifies protecting the Dispensation (*śāsana*) and the saṅgha as excellent merits leading one to good states of life.[283]

The Mv. adopts the term *dharma* to signify the doctrine, virtuous life, and righteousness. The *Kinnarī-jātaka* presents a good definition of *dharma* as it says that the path of the right actions is *dharma* and its contrary, *adharma*.[284] The *dharma* protects him who abides by it.[285] The Doctrine is also termed as *saddharma*,[286] which is said to possess six sublime characteristics. "It is well-proclaimed, bears on this present life, is independent of time, welcomes all come and see, guides to *nirvāṇa* and is for the inward comprehension of those who are wise."[287]

The teaching and training of the Tathāgata as presented in the Mv. is rightly summarized in the following stanza :

sarvapāpasya akaraṇaṃ kuśalasya upasampadā /
svacitta-pariyādāpanaṃ etad buddhānuśāsanam //(iii.420.12-13)

"To commit no sin, to achieve virtue, to master one's heart—this is the teaching of the Buddhas."[288]

(B) *The Bodhisattva Concept And the Ten Bhūmis*

The origin and the development of the *bodhisattva* doctrine have been the subject of lengthy discussions and arid polemics.[289] Both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna do, so far as Scriptural testimony is concerned, display their common acquaintance with the concept to the extent that one may easily be led to the hypothesis that the idea was almost inseparable in what is now generally called the 'original' or 'primitive' Buddhism. The idea does not seem to have been foreign to the ancient tradition of Theravādins, although "tracing the Bodhisattva idea from the fifth century A.D. back to the time of the Pali Nikāyas" would indicate, as one may find, "a gradual diminution of its scope."[290]

A categorical answer to the question as to whether Hīnayānists borrowed the idea from Mahāyānists depends much upon how far one is prepared to pursue his research in ancient sources of Buddhism. Emerging from the main trunk of the original Teaching of the Master, different branches of the Faith grew and flourished side by side, never drifting away from their indisputable heritage of the common tradition.

The development of the *bodhisattva* ideal goes without reserva-

tion to the credit of the Mahāyāna school, in which the *bodhisattva* "is indeed the characteristic feature."[291] None-the-less, it seems more likely that the Theravādins inherited the idea from the oldest oral tradition rather than borrowed it from another school, for, "it does not seem", to quote E. J. Thomas, "as if there is any one school which can be spoken of as the originator of this doctrine and as the source from which the rest have borrowed it."[292]

Bodhisattva is a wide term which has been assigned a number of definitions and interpretations. The word's etymology is controversial, and its application, of varying significance. This may be considered as the explicit phenomenon of the striking historical point that the sense and value of the term *bodhisattva* (Pali.*bodhisatta*) had to undergo changes more than once in the process of doctrinal development and historical growth. The word is generally translated as 'the one whose essence is perfect knowledge.'[293] or 'a sentient or rational being possessing bodhi.[294] Thomas interprets the term as 'a being of (or destined for) Enlightenment',[295] and Elliot understands it as denoting technically 'a being who is in the process of obtaining but has not yet obtained Buddhahood'.[296] The word is explained as signifying 'a person destined to enlightenment, Buddha-to-be'.[297] The French rendering of the word also conveys a similar sense. Burnouf translates it as *celui qui possède l'essence de la bodhi*.[298] Lamotte understands a *bodhisattva* to be a future Buddha *celui qui a produit la pensee de l'illumination* (*bodhicitta*).[299] Har Dayal has quoted a series of other interpretations and definitions, suggested by ancient exponents and modern critics,[300] which bear witness to the fact that the exact origin and connotation of the term has really been a matter of diverse opinion through the ages.

It is hardly necessary to say that all these interpretations and definitions can be justified and substantiated with textual references late or early in origin. It can reasonably be suggested in this context that early literary strata of composition and compilation, including the main body of our volume, indicate that the concept passed through at least three stages of development. These three stages may be shown as follows :

i. The primitive stage in which the word was employed

simply to denote the prince Siddhārtha Gautama who, later, became the Buddha.

ii. The second stage in which the meaning of the term was further developed to include the previous lives of the Buddha in which he is supposed to have striven for the attainment of sambodhi.

iii. The final stage in which it assumed the form of a technical term denoting all those who aspire for enlightenment.

Pali texts of the earliest period do not seem to make much distinction between Siddhārtha the ascetic and Gautama the Buddha. But soon was felt the necessity of distinguishing the Enlightened One from the princely ascetic as the dogmatic speculations necessitated the Buddha to be held in supremacy. On this point the pious compilers coined the word *bodhisatta* which was simply to mean the ascetic Gautama, who after renunciation, was striving for *bodhi* or *sambodhi* (Enlightenment).[301] According to the Samādh., a *bodhisattva* is so designated because he enlightens and exhorts the multitude.[302] Bodhi conveys the idea of perfect enlightenment. But *sattva* still remains enigmatic; and thus becoming the bone of contention that brings us into a variety of ingenious interpretations. It may here signify, as one ancient interpretation explains,[303] the intention or purpose (*abhiprāya*). The compound of *bodhisattva* would thus mean the one whose intentions are fixed on perfect knowledge. The conjecture that the term *bodhisattva* is a wrongly Sanskritized form of the Pali *bodhisatta* which actually corresponds to Sanskrit *bodhi-sakta* seems quite admissible in this respect. Referring to the Vedic word *sattvan*, meaning 'a strong or valiant man, hero, warrior,' and the Tibetan equivalent of the term (*byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ*), Dr. Har Dayal prefers this interpretation because it conveys, according to the learned scholar, the two ideas of existence and struggle.[304]

The Mv., like early Pali references, uses the word in this shade of meaning when it speaks of the early wandering and mortifications of the prince Siddhārtha. Thus it becomes clear that the earliest application of the word was limited, and it was known as the designation of Siddhārtha Gautama before his Enlightenment.[305]

Along with the introduction of the idea of predecessors of the Spiritual Kingdom and previous lives of Gautama the Buddha,

bodhisattva assumed the form of a developed term signifying the being who is on his way to the attainment of the perfect enlightenment. The word can be seen used in this sense in the *sūtras* which go back to the period of one hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*.[306] Works like the JP., the Ap., and the Bv. also represent this stage of development of the *bodhisattva* concept which expanded to include previous lives of the Master, and the course of conduct required for that supreme achievement. A great deal of the textual body of the Mv. also shows a similar state of the concept. Jātaka stories, which comprise about one third of the work have been acknowledged as depicting the previous existences of the Buddha. Although the term *bodhisattva* does not seem to have been in wide use in the narratives,[307] yet the invariant conclusion of the stories declares that the hero of the *jātaka* was none other than the individual who became our Allenlightened One, the Perfect Buddha.[308] Generally speaking, it is this particularly individual *bodhisattva* that the Mv., like the tradition of Theravādins, speaks of frequently. Sometimes the text does not find it necessary to distinguish the *bodhisattva* endowed with supra-mundane character from the *bodhisattva* still passing through the preliminary stages, owing to the fact that the authors knew only one *bodhisattva*; and it can be rightly pointed out that our text is in this respect closer to the Theravādins' conception of *bodhisattva*.

Omission of the Mahāyānic ideal that all may become Buddhas is conspicuous in the Daśa-bhūmika description which seems to be particularly relevant to the career of Gautama the Śākyamuni.

The third stage of development was brought about in the later Mahāyānic treatises to the extent that it became a term of dogmatic value in the expansion and re-orientation of the doctrine. Each and everybody is inspired and indoctrinated to aspire for Buddhahood, whereby the term *bodhisattva* is assigned its widest sense. Our text is not completely devoid of indications to the period during which the concept was gradually assuming this final form. Especially the portions apparently interpolated in later periods contain evidence of the tendency of aspiring for the perfect enlightenment.[309]

The *bodhisattva* doctrine, according to Dr. Har Dayal, was the "necessary outcome of two movements of thought in early Buddhism, *viz.*, the growth of *bhakti* (devotion, faith, love)

and the idealization and spiritualization of the Buddha."[310] The concept of *bhakti* appears to be an original contribution of Buddhists to Indian thought. That it was borrowed and adapted from Hinduism[311] does not seem to be an accurate opinion on the basis of historical grounds as well as Scriptural evidence.[312] Stress has been laid in the Mv. on the dogmatic view that worshipping and adoring Buddhas and honouring *stūpas* containing their relics is the surest path leading not only to worldly happiness, but also to *nirvāṇa*, by converting one to *bodhisattva*-hood.[313] It must, however, be noted that the text does not speak of *bodhisattvas*, in multiplied numbers, as intercessors who stand as the immediate object of worship, and become the bridge in maintaining relations between the Buddha and his followers.

All sentient beings are to eradicate suffering by attaining to the perfect bliss of *nirvāṇa* by means of the realization of Truth. Pali authorities generally admit the availability of three ways to this final liberation and realization, which are known as the vehicles (*yāna*) of *arhat*, Pratyeka-buddha and *samyak-sambuddha*.[314] It is remarkable, however, that only those who were determined to achieve the supreme attainment of Perfect Enlightenment are regarded eligible for the title of *bodhisattva*, keeping in line with the original sense of the word. Our text, being more related to the tenets of the orthodox tradition maintains a similar standpoint in this regard.[315]

The word *bodhisattva* is often found accompanied by the word *mahāsattva* (Great Being).[316] This latter word is sometimes seen occurring alone to denote the bodhisattva. Several other epithets such as *agrasattva*, *puruṣottama*, *mahā-manuṣya*, *narasiṃha* and *satpuruṣa* are also found used in abundance in our authority.

The most essential qualification required for elevation from the low status of ordinary man to the Āryan grade of *bodhisattva* is no doubt always regarded as the production of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta-utpāda*).[317] The necessity of moral conduct by way of preliminary preparation preceding the Thought is accepted as fundamental and indispensable. Dr. Har Dayal opines that these conditions are gradually devised and elaborated with the passage of time, as early authorities do not lay emphasis on the point of novitiate.[318] However this may be, it is undeniable that the production of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) was to be preceded by certain

spiritual and moral refinements which would distinguish the adept's mentality from that of average beings was a part of the basic concept of *bodhisattva* as visualized in the Mv.

These preliminary conditions and performances required for obtaining the psychologically advanced status befitting a bodhisattva are explained in the section called Daśa-bhūmika-sūtra.[319] A person with exceeding religious fervour may honour and adore many Buddhas and Pratyeka-buddhas, but still he would not turn his thoughts to the attainment of omniscience.[320] It is only when they have laid up abundant store of merit and have body and mind well-developed that they produce the thought for the *bodhi*.[321] The presence of a Buddha, firm resolution on the goal and being a male are also enjoined as compulsory conditions for the ambitious aspiration to attain the highest post in the Spiritual Domain.[322] Our text definitely speaks, as we shall presently see, of a course termed as Natural Career (*prakṛti-caryā*) which precedes the production of the Thought of Enlightenment. It is however true that the whole scheme is not so well systematized and explicit in the early expositions, to which group the Mv. also belongs, as it is in the standard works on the subject like the Dbh., and the Bodhisattva-bhūmi.

A person who happens to see the Buddha and to appreciate his superior grandeur, becomes elated and enraptured [323] as he entertains the thought of acquiring the same qualities and characteristics for himself. He is generally supposed to possess a high degree of moral character and a strong proclivity to spiritual matters. Megha, who was proclaimed by Dīpaṅkara the Buddha to become Gautama Śākyamuni, was a graduate (*snātaka*) fresh from the traditional Vedic institution of learning (*gurukula*).[324] These 'future *bodhisattvas*' seem, according to the source of our study, to have been more influenced by the Buddha's personality and glory than by serious contemplation of the woeful condition of the suffering masses.

The enthusiastic desire to become an equal of the present Buddha predominates their thoughts in the moment of *bodhicitta-utpāda*. The noble purpose of helping the helpless worldlings, though the most vital aspect of the production of the Thought of Enlightenment, is simply confined to a single sentence, whereas the attaining of personal beauty and transcen-

dental glory plays a prominent part in the formula of resolve (*praṇidhāna*).[325]

Factors that would lead an ordinary being to the sanctified state of *bodhisattva*-hood are worthy of consideration at length. The Mv. does not chalk out these points clearly, for it belongs to a period when the *bodhisattva* ideal had not yet taken its fully developed form. But the idea of a preliminary stage of future *bodhisattvas* was known to the authors of the Mv. They admit the essential utility of conduct called Natural Career (*prakṛti-caryā*) as well as other consecutive elements. Later expositions have prescribed three preliminaries to the production of the Thought of Enlightenment. They are termed as Family (*gotra*), Aspiration (*adhimukti*), and Supreme Worship (*anuttara-pūjā*). We shall here try to discover how far these elements are traceable in the Mv. account of the *bodhisattva's* career.

The stage between an unconverted person of the common stock (*pṛthag-jana*) and a person who has acquired the inceptive stratum of the Āryan path (*śrotāpanna*) is known to the Pali tradition as *gottabhū*.[326] According to this, a *gotrabhū* is one who is endowed with the preparatory elements which are to be followed by the manifestation of the Āryan nature. This finds mention in Buddhist Sanskrit works as well.[327] Har Dayal thinks that Mahāyānists probably borrowed the idea of *gotra* from Hīnayāna.[328]

The Mv. places the would-be *bodhisattva* developing this requirement under the stage known to it by the name Natural Career. It is said to be one of the four careers, or the courses of conduct of *bodhisattvas*, and the person passing through this stage is called at the beginning an ordinary being.[329] The first part of the first *bhūmi*, speaking in terms of *bhūmis* (stages), can be included in this career. Bodhisattvas, or rather future *bodhisattvas*, abiding in this stage of novitiate are to respectfully regard their parents, religious persons and elders. It is their nature (*prakṛti*) to practise ten right ways of behaviour (*daśa-kuśala-karma-patha*) and to exhort others to give alms and acquire merit. Contemporary Buddhas and Pratyeka-buddha they would adore.[330]

But, as their spiritual faculty is not yet absolutely purified and developed to the standard required for the aspiration, they do

not produce the Thought of Enlightenment. Notwithstanding, they are fully ripe for promotion to the rank of *bodhisattva* and as soon as the necessary conditions are fulfilled, they will advance to the next stage representing the second course of conduct, which is known to the Mv. by the name of Resolving Career (*praṇidhāna-caryā*).

The second element, *i.e.*, *adhimukti* signifies the being's aspiration for attaining Enlightenment. This aspect is not separately discussed in the text. The treatises on the *bodhisattva's* career refer to this aspiration as occurring immediately before the *bodhi-citta*.[331] The stock-passage of the famous Vow (*praṇidhāna*) for the attaining of enlightenment found in our authority does not display any familiarity with the idea of this prerequisite. The word *adhimukta* occurs in the sense of inclination, zeal or fondness,[332] but this does not seem to be connected with the term *adhimukti* which technically means "strong inclination, attachment; or earnest zealous application."[333] The compilers, at least the authors of the Daśa-bhūmika-sūtra section, probably included this element in the preliminary stage.

Growing and popularizing doctrines of *bodhisattva* included another group of performances in the preliminary functions that precede the production of the Thought of Enlightenment. This particular group of rituals and formalities is known by the name *anuttara-pūjā* which mainly consisted of the worship and adoration of the Buddha and the *saṃgha*.[334] The unparalleled efficacy of the worship of Buddhas and their relics is so much stressed in the Mv. that it appears for a moment as if it advocates the ritualistic performances as the only way to spiritual emancipation as well as worldly achievements. Bodhisattvas are seen obtaining prophecies (*vyākaraṇa*) merely by making offerings to Buddhas and honouring them. Asuras get their due predictions from the Buddha after adoring him.[335] The text recites a good number of instances to implant the point that even a trivial offering at the feet of the Buddha might lead a being to become eligible for being proclaimed by him as an aspirant for Buddhahood.[336]

As the Buddha no longer exists, the *stūpa* was conceived to represent the living Master. By worshipping *stūpas* one may equip oneself to undertake the arduous career of a *bodhisattva*. *Stūpas* were built over the relics of the Buddha and by the time of Aśoka it had become a predominant way of paying homage

to the departed Master. As the *bhakti* cult was gradually assuming the form of an essential characteristic of Buddhist faith, the necessity was felt to introduce colourful expositions elaborating the validity and efficacy of honouring cairns (*stūpa-pūjā*). Worshipping a *stūpa* eventually qualified the faithful to produce the Thought of Enlightenment. A person who, turning his thought to enlightenment, pays homage to a *stūpa* is said to become ever-fortunate, alert and set on the path of virtue leading to enlightenment.[337] This act of deep reverence would be accompanied by offerings of flowers, incense and perfume.[338] By fixing network coverings to *stūpas* he becomes able to escape the net of Māra and gain the supreme status of the Buddha.[339] *Bodhisattvas* are also instructed to pay homage to *stūpas* in all possible manners, such as removing withered flowers from those places, and offering fresh flowers, incense, and perfumes, *etc.* Any act of service in the name of the Buddha would certainly help him acquire enlightenment.

The *bodhisattva* is required to employ his merits for the welfare of all living beings. Later treatises maintain that confession of sins and application of merit are two indispensable formalities which ought to precede the *bodhicitta.* Application of merit is adopted by our authors as a necessary element in the process.[340] Confession of sins (*pāpa-deśanā*) was innovated and developed to a philosophical aspect in later expositions.[341] Śāntideva sings his devotional song of confession, the implication of which is that *bodhisattvas* are required and requested to help him absolve his foolish sins.[342] This aspect is probably not familiar in this form to the compilers of the Mv., though they make the *bodhisattva* exclaim enthusiastically: "Whatever evil deed has been done by me, may I alone reap its bitter fruit."[343]

All requirements fulfilled, the would-be *bodhisattva* arrives at the feet of the contemporary Buddha in order to accomplish the state of full-fledged *bodhisattva.* Having respected and served the Buddha, he expresses his firm resolve to attain Enlightenment. This Thought of Enlightenment seems to bear two aspects, *viz.*, concern over the welfare of others and desire for his own salvation (*lokārtham ātmano'rthaṃ ca*). First he would obtain the supreme Enlightenment and get himself delivered, and then he would show the path of emancipation to others.[344] The Bodhisattva-bhūmi is more eloquent in this context as it

explains the two objects of the Thought of Enlightenment.[345]

The welfare of others was, however, the primary object of the great resolution, and it is not difficult to see how in later periods it emerged as the sole aim of the *bodhi-citta* in producing which the thoughts of selfishness absolutely disappear. Versified accounts in our text especially carry this sense of extreme altruism as they elaborate the Thought of Enlightenment as wholly permeated by feelings of compassion and service.[346]

This thought is known to the Mv. as *citta*, *mānasa*, *manoratha* or *saṃkalpa*.[347] A stereotyped passage repeatedly found in the Mv. relates how this thought and resolve come into effect. He expresses his enthusiastic wish to become a Perfect Buddha endowed with all characteristics for the benefit of the world. "I having crossed (the transmigratory existence), may I help the living beings to cross. I being liberated, may I liberate others. I being comforted, may I comfort others. I being finally released, may I release others."[348]

Making one's mind for that greatest goal is, according to vivid elaborations of that moment, really an unparalleled event which surpasses all other meritorious acts.[349] Nature exhibits its unusual phenomena (*adbhuta-dharma*) on such rare occasions. Earthquakes take place and a light appears in the world. The entire Universe becomes happy on such occasions.[350]

The Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhi-citta*) and Resolve (*praṇidhāna*) are to mark the commencement of the second career of the bodhisattva. These two components, *i.e.*, *bodhi-citta* and *praṇidhāna* are closely inter-related and intermingled. According to the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra, *praṇidhāna* is "both the cause and the result of the Thought of Enlightenment".[351] Our text, however, seems to understand that the production of the Thought of Enlightenment is possible even through paying homage to the Buddha at a *stūpa*, whereas it is obligatory for one to meet a Buddha in order to make the formal Resolve.

The production of the Thought of Enlightenment and Resolve are not featured in detail in our volume. It may be understood, in any case, that the Mv. confirms the view that the strong and deep aspiration for attaining enlightenment, whether it is expressed or not, is counted as the fulfilment of Resolve which is to be followed by the contemporary Buddha's prediction. The Mv. usually speaks in terms of incalculable and immeasurable

aeons (*kalpa*) with regard to the career of a *bodhisattva* and this gives us the impression that there exist infinite intervals of time between the first thought, Resolve and the Buddha's prediction.

Resolve (*praṇidhāna*) in the Mv. is very simple. The formula of *praṇidhāna* in our text agrees to a great extent with the one given in other treatises representing the early period of the development of the concept.[352] This simplicity was transformed into a complexity of detailed elaboration at later times when the formal expression of aspiration was "extended and amplified" in standard authorities.[353]

The word *praṇidhāna* means in general a prayer, entreaty or supplication.[354] Dr. Har Dayal renders it as 'Earnest Wish' or 'Aspiration'.[355] Edgerton translates it as 'ardent desire, earnest wish or vow'.[356] According to the Mv. it may usually, but not always, stand for sincere and inexhaustive determination to attain Supreme Realization.[357]

Praṇidhāna is divided into two parts in the Pali tradition. First, the *bodhisattva*-to-be aspires for the *bodhi*, his intention being quite personal and unexpressed. This stage of aspiration is known to the Southern authorities as *mano-paṇidhāna* which seems to correspond to the state of adhimukti, and signifies the commencement of the psychological process that finallyc ulminates in the production of the Thought of Enlightenment.[358] After that he declares it at the feet of a Buddha whereupon he becomes predicted to be a *bodhisattva*. In the Mv. we find no definite scheme in the course of such progress. Praṇidhāna is usually spoken of as the turning point in the *bodhisattva's* spiritual maturity at which juncture the strong and earnest wish to attain enlightenment occupies his mind. The term *ceto-paṇidhāna* also occurs, but it hardly suggests any particular significance as the proclamation (*vivaraṇa*) is seen declared on the same occasion.[359] This may reflect a period when the whole scheme including the terms and stages were not yet fully defined or settled.

The proclamation or 'Assurance of Enlightenment'[360] is to follow the Resolve. Our text presents this proclamation in another stereotyped passage,[361] which is evidently derived from an ancient source which has provided materials for some other Buddhist Sanskrit texts as well.

Incalculable world-periods (*kalpa*) are freely assigned to the

course of conduct, proving that the whole career of a *bodhisattva* is of immeasurable length. Some other works, representing different schools, prefer to have a limit, as they adopt a ceiling for this career. The minimum period, according to the Pali sources, is four Incalculables (*asaṃkhya*) and a hundred thousand kalpas, whereas the maximum amounts to sixteen Incalculables.[362] Śāntideva gives a more moderate estimate and reckons sixty aeons for each Perfection (*pāramitā*).[363] The Northern tradition seems to have approved three Incalculables of aeons as the duration of a *bodhisattva's* progress.[364] Our text once refers to such a tradition,[365] but it is interesting to notice how the Buddha is depicted as rejecting the gods' opinion conveyed to Maudgalyāyana that the Buddha appeared after a hundred thousand kalpas and declaring that it takes "immeasurable and incalculable kalpas" for one to become a Buddha.[366]

A *bodhisattva* is entitled to a great variety of distinctions, exemptions and privileges which are enumerated in the book of ten stages. Throughout his career, by virtue of the great incomparable merit acquired by him through the production of the Thought of Enlightenment, he is always to be born in happy states of existence avoiding the evil states of durgati. Whether he might be born in hell or not had been a matter of uncertainty. Once it is said that he is not subject to the miserable plight of purgatory, and immediately it is announced in a compromising way that he might enter secondary purgatories for grave offences.[367] For committing serious crimes such as killing an average human being, he would not be condemned to hell, but he might have to go to hell if he murders another *bodhisattva*, a disciple, a *śrotāpanna*, or an aspirant for Pratyeka-buddhahood.[368] Pali tradition also holds a similar view in this connexion. Later works accept that they might enter hell on their own accord for the benefit of the denizens of those infernal regions.[369] A *bodhisattva* is not to become a woman or an impotent. His appearance will be attractive and limbs impeccable.[370] He would be absolved from sins and transgressions committed by him before the Resolve.[371] He is likewise exempted from injuries by fire, weapons, beasts or non-human beings. Perhaps they are not to die young and immature.[372] They will always remain firm in energy, endurance and courage.

The statement that a bodhisattva is devoid of lust for a very

long period of time[373] may well be regarded as a piece of later embellishment, though their passion, folly and hatred can definitely become gradually extenuated. The *bodhisattva's* mind is said to remain uncontaminated by anger and malice.[374]

A *bodhisattva* would never commit the five cardinal sins (*ānantarya*), nor would they destroy the *stūpas*.[375] They are very sensitive to the feeling of gratitude, and would not cause harm even to the tree under which they sat for a while. They will always abide by the ten ways of right conduct, and maintain equanimity both in joy and grief (*āpatsu na viṣīdanti na ca modanti vṛddhiṣu*, Mv.i. 102.3).

Inasmuch as *bodhisattvas* are an exceptional category, to cause any harm to them will yield deadly results. Showing unkindness and doing wilful harm to a *bodhisattva* lead one to hell for a hundred thousand times.[376] Such a sinner condemned to woe and misery shall inevitably become blind (*andho acakṣuko*), and take sub-human forms. On the other hand, to help and serve bodhisattvas will surely bring happiness and prosperity.

Thus the *bodhisattva*, having practised the conduct of the Great Being in the second career, equips himself to enter the third stage of the long-termed course. This is known to the Mv. as the Career of Regular Practice (*anulomacaryā*). Coupled with the fourth Career, designated as Non-returning Career (*anivartana-caryā*), it concerns the actual task of the *bodhisattva*.

The course which is to be adopted by *bodhisattvas* in order to fulfil their resolve to attain the bodhi is termed as *caryā*, otherwise known as *cārikā*. Lexicons render the meaning of the word as 'course, proceeding, behaviour or conduct.'[377] In view of its actual nature and objects, the procedure is signified as *lokārtha-caryā*. The Mv. classification of four *caryās* is characteristic for being the solitary instance of its kind. Pali commentaries mention three *cariyās*, not of *bodhisattva*, but of the Buddhas.[378] The four *bhūmis* of *bodhisattvas* referred to in the Pali texts also show scant relation to the Mv. exposition of careers. Caryā is discussed and delineated in the Bodhisattva-bhūmi and Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra in quite a different way according to which they form the four practices of necessary requirements for a being to proceed in the triumphant course of training leading to Enlightenment, *viz.*, principles conducive to Enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharma*), Super-knowledge (*abhi-*

jñā), Perfections (*pāramitā*), and preaching and teaching (*sattva-paripāka*). Dr. Har Dayal considers this elaboration preferable to the Mv. classification owing to the merit that the former "really indicates the various duties and qualities of a Bodhisattva."[379] The presentation of *caryā* in the Mv. is largely concerned with the illustration of the primitive form of the ten *bhūmis*. The ten stages of spiritual progress can be thus divided, according to our source, into four careers :

(i) *prakṛti-caryā*—first half of the first *bhūmi*,
(ii) *praṇidhāna-caryā*—second half of the first *bhūmi*,
(iii) *anuloma-caryā*—from second to seventh *bhūmi*, and,
(iv) *anivarta-caryā*—from eighth to tenth *bhūmi*.

We shall here present an investigation of the ten *bhūmis* of the Mv. in order to acquire a clear idea about their actual significance and utility in the spiritual progress of a *bodhisattva* as conceived by our compilers.

The Ten Stages of Spiritual Development (*daśa-bhūmi*)

The idea of the progressive stages in the spiritual development towards the final emancipation appears to be basically pre-Mahāyānic, although the Mādhyamika-avatāra declares that the scheme is peculiar to the Mahāyāna tenets.[380] The concept of the four stages of the Āryan path as adopted by the Theravādins was the first of this category. According to the same tradition, there are eight divisions of the path occupants of which are recognized to be persons of noble character (*ariya-puggala*) worthy of offering.[381]

The scheme of the successive stages of the *bodhisattva's* career is now regarded by scholars to have been modelled on this original method of division. The Mv. and other Buddhist Sanskrit works adopt the term *bhūmi* instead of the Theravādin *magga*. The term *bhūmi* is not, however, utterly unfamiliar to the Pali tradition as it is used in *abhidhamma* as equivalent to *magga*.[382] It is also pointed out that Mahāyāna authorities refer to the practice of the ten Hīnayāna *bhūmis*, but details in this regard are wanting.[383] The Mv. advocates that a *bodhisattva* remains without much distinction from ordinary man upto the occupation of the seventh *bhūmi*. He is notwithstanding included in the Āryan category, for producing the Thought of Enlightenment is not common to the mental capacity of an average man.

The text describes the *bodhisattvas* in the first *bhūmi* in the terms *prāptaphala* and *dakṣiṇeyya*,[384] which in Theravāda terminology denotes the Āryan person. But the striking dissimilarity between the eight stages of spiritual development in the Theravādin Path (*magga*) and the ten stages (*bhūmi*) of the Mv. is that the former does not leave room for the backslide from the stage once attained, whereas the latter reiterates the possible danger of lapsing from the stages occupied by the aspirant. It is interesting to notice that the Mahāsāṅghikas hold that an arhat may fall back from *arhatship*.[385] Other authorities on the subject are silent with respect to such a possibility of retrogression.

The word *bhūmi* has different meanings such as 'earth, ground, territory, place and stage', etc.[386] As a technical term in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, it signifies a stage in the *bodhisattva's* career.[387] Apart from the Mv. account of the ten *bhūmis*, there are several other sources for a study of these stages of spiritual progress. The AsP., Dbh., Mādhyamaka-avatāra, Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra, and the Bodhisattva-bhūmi contain details of these stages. Some scholars have tried to equate the Mv. account with the Dbh., but there seems to be little ground for comparison, as Har Dayal pointed out,[388] except for a few minor points of similarity. Even the names of the ten stages as given in the Mv. are mostly different from those given in the Dbh. which is generally regarded as the standard work on the subject. Our text names the ten stages as follows :

(i) *durārohā*, (ii) *baddhamānā*, (iii) *puṣpamaṇḍitā*, (iv) *rucirā*, (v) *cittavistarā* (vi) *rūpavatī* (vii) *durjayā* (viii) *janma-nideśa*, (ix) *yauvarājya*, and, (x) *abhiṣeka* which are in direct contrast with the list preserved in the Dbh. which gives the names of the ten stages as: (i) *pramuditā* (ii) *vimalā* (iii) *prabhākārī*, (iv) *arciṣmatī* (v) *sudurjayā*, (vi) *adhimukti*, (vii) *dūraṅgamā*, (viii) *acalā*, (ix) *sādhumatī* and (x) *dharmameghā*.

Scholars are more or less unanimous as to the peculiar character of the Mv. account of ten stages. Dr. Har Dayal is of the opinion that it is fundamentally different from the other expositions,[389] and Vallée Poussin also endorses this view saying that the account in the Mv. seems to be independent of the Mahāyānic authorities.[390] The critics of the Daśabhūmika-sūtra of the Mv. are, as it appears, categorical about the primitive

and unsatisfactory treatment of the stages in our text. According to Vallée Poussin, it is "confused, fragmentary, and perhaps, contradictory".[391] Har Dayal remarks it to be "very confused and incoherent", and "also replete with digressions and repetitions".[392] Nalinaksha Dutt admits the Mv. account to be the earliest of the schemes; and the conception of *bhūmis* was, as he finds, "very hazy" to the compilers of the work.[393] Going through the tiresome pages of the Daśabhūmika section of our text, it becomes evident that these observations are perfectly justified in view of the nebulous character of this listless account.

The diverse accounts of these *bhūmis* provide no settled and unanimous opinion concerning their number too. It has been suggested that the number certainly shows some signs of growth. Dr. Har Dayal conjectures that there must have been only seven *bhūmis* in the beginning,[394] whereas Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta thinks that originally there may have been only six *bhūmis*.[395] The Mv. invariably speaks of ten *bhūmis* (*daśa bodhisattva-bhūmayaḥ*), although the text fails to elaborate them in full. It may be presumed that the last three or four stages were probably developed at a later period, as the compilers are evidently far from being successful in elaborating those stages. The new idea of ten stages was apparently not consonant with the material of the early tradition that the authors had at their disposal. A hopeless gap is clearly visible in the account dealing with the fourth, ninth and tenth *bhūmis*.

The text remarks that even a single *bhūmi* is infinite (*aparimita*) and beyond the limitations of human comprehension.[396] It is not therefore possible to measure the *bhumis* of *bodhisattvas*. But the adherent of the doctrine need not be confused and taken aback for they can be brought into light at least in their general characteristics (*sāmānya-saṃketa*).[397]

It is to be noted that our text bears some peculiar features in regard to the description of the ten stages. Each stage, generally speaking, is presented with its particular disposition (*sandhi-citta*) which enables the adept to advance to and abide in that stage. The duties and responsibilities of the *bodhisattva* occupying the stage are elaborated in a more or less independent way and then are explained the moral and ideological shortcomings and imperfections that may result in the adept's failing to occupy the next stage. From the first *bhūmi*

upto the seventh there seems to be two classes of *bodhisattvas*, *viz.*, those who are liable to retrogression (*vivartiya*) and those who are not (*avivartiya*).

The first *bhūmi* is called *durārohā* (Difficult to Ascend). With the commencement of the spiritual and moral progress of the ten stages, a *bodhisattva* finds himself engaged in a round of duties, social, individual and religious. At the outset of the first *bhūmi* a *bodhisattva* is still not more than an ordinary man (*pṛthag-jana*),[398] although his mental attitude and moral behaviour are more refined and reformed than those of the rank and file. In the first stage, the *bodhisattva* makes his resolution, according to the Mv., after having an opulent stock of accumulated merit and the Thought of Enlightenment produced. Hence the first *bhūmi* is understood to be the compound (*vyāmiśra*) stage, the converting ground for an ordinary being. The AsP. is perhaps close to this comparatively early scheme of progress for it agrees on the point that *bodhisattvas*, having acquired merit, cultivate in this stage the thought of attaining Omniscience.[399] The Dbh. on the other hand excludes these preliminary functions and preparations from the first *bhūmi* which is said to be occupied by the real *bodhisattva* who has already produced the Thought of Enlightenment.[400] The Bodhisattva-bhūmi with its thirteen *vihāras* finds it simple to apply them to separate *vihāras*, according to which the *bodhisattva* enters the *pramuditā-vihāra*, corresponding to the first stage of the Dbh., after passing through the *vihāras* of *gotra-bhūmi* and *adhimukti-caryā*.[401]

Eight points of conduct are described as possessed by the *bodhisattvas* occupying the first *bhūmi*. They are : liberality, compassion, indefatigable energy, humility, study of all the scriptures, heroism, renunciation of the world and fortitude.[402] Other authorities also recognize renunciation as one of the essential qualities of the first stage.[403] The AsP. and the Dbh. connect the four infinite Meditations (*brahma-vihāra*) and the four Articles of Attraction (*saṅgraha-vastu*) with the first four stages.[404] Our text has not been able to realize the convenience or significance of assigning them to any particular stage, although it incidentally refers to them.

A *bodhisattva* cannot rise to the second stage and abide in it if he contemplates life with satisfaction, is lustful, indolent through indulgence in sensual pleasures, covetous, timid and

weak-willed. He has always to be conscious of the impermanence of things, and should not become addicted to harmfulness. By becoming inveterate haters, gross and sluggish, and entangled in worldly affairs they shall fail to reach the second stage. His courage, strength and enthusiasm must be everlasting and unequalled.

It is only when the idea of the *bhūmis* was finally systematized that a Perfection (*pāramitā*) was attached to each *bhūmi*. Accordingly, the Mv. does not particularly assign Perfections to the *bhūmis*, yet a *bodhisattva* is expected to perform charity in its highest form while in the first stage. He would not regret for a split moment to give away his wealth, wife, children and his own precious limbs.[405] Even to the cruel man who sentences him to be flogged, bound, and scourged, he would speak kind and gentle words.[406]

The second stage is known as *baddhamānā* (Fastening). The *bodhisattva* in this stage develops an aversion to all forms of existence. Twenty dispositions are specially attributed to the adept abiding in this stage. They are good, amiable, sweet, keen, bountiful, charming, profound, wholehearted, sincere, imperturbable, distinguished, lofty, noble, resolute, pure, steadfast, independent, and intent on the Enlightened One.[407]

Twenty-eight reasons are enumerated as preventing the *bodhisattva's* rise to the third *bhūmi*. He fails to reach the next stage if he becomes avid of gain, honour and fame or dishonest and accumulates riches through unjust means. To disrespect teachers as well as the Triad of Treasures and the *caryā* itself is also counted as disqualifying him for the advancement towards the third *bhūmi*. He has to abjure the proclivity towards being gregarious and luxurious. He should regard all elements as impermanent, and abandon perverted doctrines.[408]

The third *bhūmi* is known to the Mv. by the name of *puṣpamaṇḍitā* (Adorned-with-Flowers) Renunciation and indefatigable performance of altruism are the landmarks of the third *bhūmi*. But the most characteristic phenomenon in this stage, according to our text, is that the *bodhisattva* never gets tired of making the highest greatest and most unusual sacrifices only to hear a didactic verse. Always keen to learn, and full of reverence for *dharma*, he would give away whatever was demand-

ed in return for a wise-saying (*subhāṣita*) The text cites a number of illustrations in this context.[409]

Fourteen ways hindering the *bodhisattva* from rising to and abiding in the fourth *bhūmi* are mentioned. If he become addicted to gambling or seeks seclusion and solitude to an unusual extent, he fails to reach the fourth *bhūmi*. Misuse of political power to accumulate wealth and molest people, being stingy and indifferent towards the Doctrine, falling in bad company, and failure to preach the *dharma* in a satisfactory manner cause his retrogression in this stage. A bodhisattva passing through this *bhūmi* is required to praise the Buddha's splendour, and believe in his supra-mundane nature.[410]

It seems that all authorities on the subject are in agreement as to the point that a *bodhisattva* in this stage should devote himself to studying the Scripture and preaching the Norm.[411]

The authors of the Daśabhūmika section in our text, unlike the writers of the Dbh., AsP., and Bodhisattva-bhūmi, seem to have been in confusion and uncertainty while dealing with the fourth stage called *rucirā* (Beautiful). The account digresses to accommodate a discussion on the deeds and practices of bodhisattvas in general, and those of the eighth stage in particular. At best, it is only a hampering stock of prevarications, so much so that the reader is for a moment forced to confess that he cannot make out of it anything that is exclusively characteristic of the fourth *bhūmi*. No mention is made of the usual 'intermediate disposition' (*sandhi-citta*), and the usual method of explaining also does not seem to have been followed in this context. It seems as if our compilers were at a loss, for want of material, to elaborate the fourth stage. The Dbh. and the Bodhisattvabhūmi assign thirty-seven principles which are conducive to Enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharma*) to this stage, whereas the AsP. stresses the need of renunciation and living in the woods.[412]

Factors causing the retrogression from the states achieved, the main feature of attention for the authors, however, find their place in the account. Bodhisattvas are to keep guard on their behaviour against immoral practices like raping nuns and practising homosexuality. Moreover, they should refrain from the exercise of black-magic for wicked purposes. Being conscientious and having developed a sense of Āryan shame (*hrī*),

they would not seduce others from virtue.[413]

Next comes the fifth stage of the spiritual progress towards Enlightenment. This *bhūmi* is named *citta-vistarā* (Expansions of the Heart). On the eve of entering the fifth *bhūmi*, the *bodhisattva* realizes how all existences are inflamed by passion, hatred and folly, whereupon he tends to become full of despair and disgust (for existence). Like in all previous *bhūmis*, he has to serve and respect Buddhas and make his firm resolve still more confirmed and renewed. He cannot progress to the sixth stage if he mixes himself up with the followers of the Yoga system (*yogācāra*). Digression from ascetic practices like concentration (*bhāvanā*) and setting high values on the cultivation of calm and introspective insight would result in his failure to abide in the stage.[414]

A *bodhisattva* passing from the fifth *bhūmi* to the sixth, which is called *rūpavatī* (Lovely), begins to feel and comprehend that this vortex of *saṃsāra* actually holds little delight and satisfaction. He would fail to reach the seventh *bhūmi* in case he desires to attain the trance of the Cessation-of-perception-and-feeling (*saṃjñā-vedayita-nirodha*) or takes pleasure in being praised as a great man with a saintly character.[415]

The seventh *bhūmi* is called *durjayā* (Difficult-to-conquer). Practice of self-control is specially demanded in the present stage. His compassion and forbearance become exceedingly prominent as he would not punish even his bitterest enemy. Several illustrations are given to corroborate this point, but these stories are not traceable in other works with similar elaborations. In the occasion of passing into the eighth *bhūmi*, the *bodhisattva's* heart becomes full of great compassion.

Reaching the eighth *bhūmi*, a *bodhisattva* emerges as an absolutely purified nominee for Buddhahood. For him, there would be no more turning back from the path leading to Enlightenment and he is respectfully described as a Great Being belonging to the class of those who are not liable to return (*avaivartika*).[416] The first and foremost characteristic of the *bodhisattva* abiding in the eighth *bhūmi* is his immeasurable love and compassion. He is no longer in a position to commit any grave sin.

The ninth and tenth *bhūmis* of spiritual progress are called *yauvarājya* (Installation as Crown Prince) and *abhiṣeka* (Conse-

cration) respectively. A colourless list of past Buddhas occupies the space where we should expect the elaboration of the ninth *bhūmi*,[417] and as for the last *bhūmi*, we are expected to be content with the single reference that the *bodhisattva* is reborn in heaven immediately after completing his training in the tenth stage.[418]

This may sufficiently prove that the Mv. account of the ten stages is not a unique and homogeneous elaboration of what it professes to bring about. It is full of confusing digressions and insipid details. Taking into account the heterogeneous character of the text which embodies a number of incongruous interpolations, it is not possible to measure how much of its present state of confusion is owed to the fair possibility that the compilers did not have any well-designed scheme in their mind. Probable misplacement of this or that passage also adds to its unsatisfactory state. For example, a part of the description of the miraculous phenomena that manifest on the occasion of producing the *bodhi-citta* is inserted in the third *bhūmi*,[419] whereas the account of the fourth *bhūmi* incorporates a versified passage relating the general characteristics of *bodhisattvas*.[420] The third *bhūmi* contains an eulogy of the Buddha sung by a deity,[421] which obviously has no direct relation to the context.

The references to the Supreme Virtues of Perfections (*pāramitā*) to be fulfilled by a *bodhisattva* are so rare and sparse in the Mv. that they need not be discussed separately. The text refers to the list of six *pāramitās*, *viz.*, *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *virya*, *dhyāna*, and *prajñā*.[422] They are individually mentioned here and there, but it does not seem likely that the compilers intended to present a comprehensive elaboration of them.

(*C*) *Relation With Theravāda And Mahāyāna*

The Mv. being regarded as part of the Mahāsāṅghika (Lokottaravādin) canon, it would be important to have a look at its relation with Theravāda, the ancient teaching, and Mahāyāna, the developed form of Buddhism. Although some writers, specially those who profess and prefer Mahāyāna doctrines, hold that Theravāda is also far from what is known as Primitive Buddhism, *viz.*, the original teaching of the Buddha,[423] yet in the absence of any other authority we are left with no alternative but to recognize the fact that the Pali Tipiṭaka, at least the *Sutta*

and *Vinaya Piṭakas*, represent the original teaching of the Śākyamuni. Moreover, the Theravāda tradition is closer, historically as well as theoretically, to that pristine form of the Doctrine than the Mahāyāna treatises. We may therefore, take the Theravāda tradition on the one hand, and that of the Mahāyāna on the other, in order to find out the proper place of the Mv. in the long history of Buddhism.

Scholars are in agreement in regard to the place that our authority occupies in the development of Buddhism. Dr Nalinaksha Dutt thinks it to be a product of the second period of the doctrinal development which he calls 'the mixed Hīnayāna period' (*circa*-350 to 100 B. C.).,[424] Vallèe Poussin also thinks that the Mv. belongs to the transient period from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna.[425] From the end of the fourth century B.C. down to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. there were, according to Madam Suzuki, two different periods in the historical development of Buddhism, *viz.*, the period of Hīnayāna Buddhism (380 B.C. to 100 A.D.) and that of developing Mahāyāna (106 A.D. to 300 A.D.).[426] Evidently it is during the latter period that our text assumed its present form.

The teaching of Mahāyāna differs from the so-called Hīnayāna in its dynamic approach to the concept of the Buddha, *bodhisattva*, path of enlightenment, *nirvāṇa*, and some other vital issues. We shall here try to discover how far the Mv. agrees with the Mahāyānic tenets on these points, particularly those of the Buddha, and of the path of enlightenment.

The Buddha

In view of the fact that the text belongs to the Lokottaravādin sect of the Mahāsāṅghika school, it may rightly be expected to depict the Buddha in Mahāyānic tint. But, strikingly enough, it is in vain that one tries to gather from the Mv. a docetic viewpoint on the Buddha's personality, except for the few references to his supra-mundane character. The Buddha is no doubt depicted in the Mv. as the incomparable one without equal. All the same, it should be remembered that the Buddha in the Mv. is still at a distance from the image that we find in the late Mahāyānic treatises, particularly when they elaborate the developed theory of his docetic nature as well as the Doctrine of Kāya.

The Mv. praises the Enlightened One as the supreme and marvellous personality to whom there is "none equal or like, much less superior."[427] But this superiority does not seem to imply the supra-mundane character of the Master, for the passage clearly mentions the points of this supremacy. He is superior to the world because there is no equal to him "in form, beauty, birth, and strength, in the four postures, in energy, in meditation, in knowledge, in calm and in self-control".[428] The Buddha, supreme among *devas* and men, is the light of the world (*lokāloka*)[429] that removes the darkness of ignorance. He is regarded as the Sage (*muni*), the Teacher (*śāstā*), the Tathāgata, and the refuge of the world (*lokanātha*).[430] He is the refuge of all living beings, the succour, guide and physician of the world.[431] He is the Leader, not to be led by others, the Omniscient (*sarvajña*) and the All-seeing (*samanta-cakṣu*).[432] The Master calls himself a 'Buddha', often mentioned a *sambuddha* or *samyak-sambuddha*, the All-Enlightened One or the Perfectly Awakened One. It is in this trancendental knowledge that he has no equal in the whole world. The Buddha himself declares:

"All-conquering and all-knowing am I, in all things undefiled. Omniscient am I, freed through the decay of craving. Having won the higher knowledge, whom should I follow?"

"Without a teacher am I, none equal to me can be found. I alone in the world am perfect Buddha, having won the perfect enlightenment."[433]

With regard to this viewpoint concerning the Master, Theravādins do not differ much from the Mv. The Buddha is for them unequal (*appaṭima*) and equal to those who are unequal (*appaṭima-sama*).[434] The Mv. is not left behind in describing the Tathāgata in these terms. He is described in the terms of *apratima*, *apratima-sama*, and *apratipudgala* in our text also[435]

The obvious difference between the Theravāda concept of the Buddha and that of the Mahāyāna schools lies in the latter's dogmatic outlook pertaining to the Buddha's nature. Mahāyānists conceived the Buddha as transcendental, eternal and absolute, whereas the Theravāda tradition never endeavoured to go beyond the limits of the early human picture of him.[436]

The Exalted One we see in the Mv. as well as in the Pali canonical works may at best be called a marvellous man (*acchariya-manussa*) endowed with unique and unequal powers.

It is notable that the Buddha was from the very beginning of the movement regarded by his faithful followers as somewhat different from the world (*anuttara*). He was hardly spoken of as having any equal in the world, nay, in the whole cosmos. Although the Buddha did not claim himself to be a superhuman character, yet the earliest tradition bears witness to the fact that he was always incomparable and above humanity in the eyes of his followers.

As to the two aspects of the Buddha's personality, *i.e.* his physical beauty on the one hand and his transcendental qualities on the other, the Mv. closely follows the ancient tradition seen in the Pali texts. The formula of the nine attributes of the Enlightened One, in all probability the oldest expression of the deep respect and devotion for the Master, is so frequently repeated in the Mv. that it is beyond doubt that the compilers were still not aware of any greater expression of his supreme nature.

The Mv. as a whole, does not seem to conceive the Buddha as a transcendental Absolute, entirely free from the law of *karma*. It clearly adopts the view that the Buddha's success in all aspects was due to the great and inexhaustible stock of merit accumulated through his countless past lives. Immediately after Enlightenment, he is seen appreciating the happy result of merit,[437] without which he would never have attained Buddhahood. A full passage in verse explains due to which good deeds the Buddha acquired the excellent characteristics in his final existence.[438] The Tathāgata himself declares that he receives all honours from the world by virtue of his meritorious deeds in past lives.[439]

It may be remembered in this context that the Pali tradition refers to a few unfortunate incidents in the Buddha's life which took place in consequence of some bad *karmas* in his previous births.[440] According to the AbhidhK. the schism caused by Devadatta is also explained by the *karmic* theory of 'tooth for tooth'.[441] Even the late interpolation of the Daśabhūmika section in our authority seems to be of the view that the bad *karmas* of past lives may produce their effects in the life of the Buddha.[442]

This general view of the Buddha's liability to *karmic* influence may be taken as a strong evidence of the fact that the early concept of the Buddha preserved in the Pali canon as well as in

Buddhist Sanskrit works like the AbhidhK. and the Mv. is not absolutely transcendental, but more or less realistic in character.

The foregoing passages will show that the Mv. is more in agreement with the Theravāda tradition than the developed Mahāyāna doctrine of the eternal Buddha expounded in the Mahāyānic works.

The developing stage of the Buddha concept in the period of transition from Theravāda to Mahāyāna is, in any case, best preserved in the Mv. The docetic tendency is clear enough to indicate the direction of its development, and at the same time, the compilers of the work consciously or unconsciously betray some signs of the early tradition in which the Buddha was still conceived as human, mortal and realistic. The phenomenon is due to textual growth under changing circumstances, rather than to a deliberate alteration.

According to this theory of the supra-mundane character of the Buddha, elucidated in the oft-quoted passage of our authority,[443] the Tathāgatas are transcendental in all aspects without exception. All their postures such as walking, sitting and lying down (*iriyāpatha*) and their bodies themselves are transcendental. They perform all the usual functions of the physical body like dressing, eating, washing and bathing, but they are merely intended to be in conformity with the world, and the Buddha in reality does not require any such performance. The Buddhas clean their teeth and perfume their mouth, although their bodies never become dirty. They sit in the shade, though the heat of the sun would not torment them, and take rest, though never subject to fatigue. Likewise, they take medicine, but in fact there is no disease in them. It is true that they eat food, but hunger never distresses them. It is in order to provide men with the opportunity to give alms that they conform to the world in this respect. Although the Buddhas drink, put on robes, and shave, they do such things only to be in conformity with human beings. They take on the semblance of being old, but never become old. Besides, the Buddha's corporeal existence is not due to the sexual union of parents, yet he can point to his mother and father. The Tathāgata has always been free from passion and he had his son Rāhula only to be in conformity with the world (*lokānuvartanā*).

It is to be noted, however, that the theory of the Buddha's

supra-mundane nature, generally confined to the first few hundred pages of the text, is often contradicted by passages derived from more ancient sources. It is thus said that the *bodhisattva's* mother was not hurt at his birth inasmuch as he appeared in apparition, made of mind (*manomayena rūpeṇa*).[444] But immediately in the same context the justification is forgotten in an attempt to reason the seven strides, which was necessary, according to the tradition (*āgama*), because the *bodhisattva* was tired of the ten months' uterine confinement.[445]

In the same way, although the *bodhisattva's* conception is described to have been spontaneous, having no relation to the parents' union,[446] yet in the flow of the biographical accounts of the Enlightened One, little acquaintance is discernible with the idea. On the contrary, the Buddha is more often than not spoken of as having a real physical body, begotten of a mother and father. The *bodhisattva* is said to have kicked the corpse of the old elephant out of the seven walls of Kapilavastu "with strength of mother and father."[447] Moreover he is regarded as the son of Śuddhodana in the general sense of the relationship between the son and the father.[448] The *bodhisattva*, supramundane and free of lust, according to the abovequoted passage, did not procreate Rāhula, but made a show to have a son, merely in conformity with the world.[449] But this statement is evidently contradicted by certain other references, derived from the older tradition, which expressly declare Rāhula to be the "flesh and blood" of the Buddha.[450] After six years of mortification the bodhisattva's physical existence became, according to our own authority, "weak and frail, with the blood dried up and the flesh shrivelled."[451] He himself speaks of his body as a mere compound of gall, phlegm, humour, flesh and blood."[452]

The best description of the Buddha's mortal body in contrast to an apparitional body (*manomaya-rūpa*) is put into the mouth of Māra, according to whom, "the body of Gautama the Recluse was born of a mother and a father, is a heap of boiled rice and sour milk, and is subject to rubbing, massaging, sleep, dissolution, disintegration and destruction."[453] And Māra the Evil One thunders to crush the *bodhisattva* on the ground that he is human, and possesses a corporeal and substantial (*audārika*) body.[454] The Mahāsāṅghika tenet that the Buddha

was born spontaneously (*aupapāduka*)[455] is not much stressed in the Mv. The charming narrative of the Buddha's physical weakness caused by strenuous mortifications and long fast[456] also reflects no indication of his being supra-mundane (*lokottara*).

The doctrine of the three *kāyas* (bodies), a landmark of Mahāyāna, was the result of a gradual development of the Buddha concept under the Buddhological speculations that differentiated Mahāyāna from the orthodox Theravāda School. The *trikāya* doctrine falls, according to scholars, among the basic tenets in which lies the heart of Mahāyāna.[457] The term *kāya* signifies the body of the Buddha, which is known to the Mahāyānic thought in three forms. The most important of these three bodies is the spiritual body (*dharma-kāya*), which "is said to be the 'support' of the two others, for ultimately only it exists, and is hence called essential".[458] The second is the body of enjoyment(*sambhoga-kāya*), through which he affords enjoyment of the Doctrine in assemblies. The third form is known as the transformation body (*nirmāṇa-kāya*), *i.e.* the personal body of the Buddha.[459] It is well-known that early Mahāyāna treatises seem to be familiar with only two bodies, *viz.*, the *dharma-kāya* and the *rūpa-kāya*,[460] and as such, it is no wonder that we fail to find any trace of the conception of the third body (*sambhoga-kāya*) in the Mv.

It is remarkable that the terms *dharma-kāya* and *rūpa-kāya* do not occur in the Mv. The text employs the word *kāya* merely in the general sense of 'body'.[461] The Buddha's charming and incomparable personality (*rūpa*) as well as his excellence in characteristics related to the Norm (*dharma*) can be found magnified throughout our text but all these elaborations, except for the few references to his transcendental nature strongly testify to a conception of the Buddha's body which is more realistic than supra-mundane.

The earliest descriptions of the Master do not, as we have already noticed, seem to anticipate any non-realistic view on the Buddha's existence. The references to his qualities repeatedly found in the text, enumerate the Master's nine attributes, thirty-two major signs and eighty minor signs, eighteen distinctive attributes, ten powers, and four grounds of confidence. This may be taken, in a way, as a proof supporting the view that the ancient tradition had some acquaintance with the concept of

kāya. In that case, the Buddha's physical magnificence stands for *rūpa-kāya*, whereas the abstract qualities of ten powers etc. signify what is known to later treatises as "the Body of the Law"[462] or the "Absolute"[463] (*dharma-kāya*).

Certain passages from the Pali canon are quoted by scholars to prove that the idea of *dharma-kāya* was not entirely foreign to the early Theravādin doctrine.[464] One of these references, *viz*., Mahā-kāśyapa's claim to be a "genuine son, born of the *dharma*, created by the *dharma*, a heir as to the *dharma*, not a heir as the flesh", finds place in the Mv. also.[465] Taking into account the context of the passage where a nun is seen to hold the view that Ānanda, the personal attendant of the Buddha should be more respected, the declaration of Mahā-Kāśyapa seems to imply that the dharma is more important than the flesh (*rūpa-kāya*) of the Buddha. Nevertheless, this was an element inseparable from the original message; and, as Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt has rightly observed, these references "do not appear to bear any metaphysical sense, although they may well be taken as precursors of the later Mahāyānic conceptions and probably formed the basis of their speculations.[466]

The Spiritual Body (*dharma-kāya*) which is in Mahāyānic works regarded as the real *kāya*[467] has led the later expounders to conclude that all Buddhas are one and the same. Since all Buddhas, past, present and future, are united in the Cosmic Absolute, the Śākyamuni Buddha could identify himself with any other Buddha.[468] The Mv. never speaks in these terms, though it admits the existence of numerous Buddhas in endless *buddha-kṣetras* (fields of Buddhas).[469] It is very important to remark how the Mv. describes the passing away of Buddhas. They are said to become extinguished like a fire without fuel,[470] and vanish like autumn clouds (*sarad-abhra*) or like cities of sand (*vālikā-nagara*).[471]

This would be sufficient to form our opinion that the Mv. conceives the Buddha as a being, endowed with supernatural powers, but still human and corporeally existent.

The Buddha's unequalled powers by virtue of which he performs miracles do not amount in our text to the extent in which his human form totally vanishes away. The Buddha says he could, if he so wished, live a *kalpa*,[472] but this statement has been a point of diverse interpretations among different schools.

The Mahāsāṅghikas are known to have maintained that the Buddha could live for an immeasurable length of time,[473] and they explain the word *kalpa* as denoting a 'world-period'.[474] The Theravādins refute this and take the word simply to mean just the life-span of the contemporary man.[475] It is not very clear to us in which sense the Mv. adopts the reference, but it should be remembered that one of the latest interpolations in the text makes mention of a Buddha who continued to live through many hundred thousands of *kalpas*.[476]

So far as the transformative power of the Buddha is concerned the Mv. takes a step further towards Mahāyāna. Elaborating the characteristics of the Buddha in the description of the tenth *bhūmi*, the authors give some details of what is technically called *vikriḍita* (elaboration of supernatural powers).[477] It is a well-known Mahāyānic idea that the Buddha assumes various forms in order to convert and enlighten beings. The said reference, though evidently isolated, provides us with a number of illustrations of this extraordinary power of the Exalted One. He is seen conjuring himself up in the form of the Kaliṅga king out of compassion for the world,[478] and creating two apparitions resembling Kusumā's parents.[479] Thousands of ogres (*rākṣasas*) created by the Buddha threaten to extirpate the whole clan of a rich man who held a heresy.[480] These fanciful elaborations are closer to the Buddha's image represented in the SP. than in the original tradition, and indicative of a stage in which *kāya* doctrine was beginning to penetrate the realistic conception of the historical Buddha.

Among those dogmatic points that would make it hard for the Mv. to be counted as a Mahāyānic authority, the strongest is the recognition of Pratyeka buddhas and *arhats*. The original concept of Buddhism, as stated above admitted the availability of three paths or vehicles (*yāna*) leading to *nirvāṇa* Mahāyānic doctrine, as is well-known, abrogated this, and relegated Pratyeka-buddhas and *arhats* to a state from which they have to progress further in order to attain Perfect Buddhahood. The Mv. is in and out non-Mahāyānic in this regard. The Mv. not only admits the availability of three *yānas* for attaining *nirvāṇa* ,but also accepts the ancient tradition that the Pratyeka-buddhas appear in the world when Buddhas are not present.[481]

The Pratyeka-buddhas are depicted in the Mv. following the

ancient tradition. They are specially characterized by their silence (*tūṣṇika-śobhanā*), and live in segregation like a unicorn.[482] They do not hold assemblies, nor do they set the Wheel of the Law in motion.[483] But as to their attainement to *nirvāṇa*, the text is as much categorical as the Theravādin authorities. They are generally known as Pratyeka-buddhas (individually enlightened), but the word *pratyeka-jina* also seems to have been in vogue. Surprisingly enough, they are sometimes called *sambuddha* and *tathāgata*, too.[484] *Bodhisattvas* are expected to honour them,[485] though they never wish to attain *nirvāṇa* in that way. To wait upon them and respect them are bound to yield happy results.[486] They are depicted as possessing supernatural powers such as the ability to fly through the air and read other's mind.[487] Although they do not teach and preach, being unable to impart their knowledge, yet they have a share in the Buddha-fields, as can be seen in the traditional statement that they have to vacate the Buddha-field on the eve of a Buddha's advent.[488]

One may envisage from the Mv. a clear picture of the primitive form of the arhat in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Like the AbhidhK., our authority also does not go beyond the Hīnayānic conception of arhathood.

The vehicle of arhathood (*śrāvaka-yāna*) consists, according to the Theravādin tradition, of four stages which are again subdivided making eight divisions in all.[489] The Mv. is in agreement with the Pali tradition so far as it admits the technical terms denoting the way (leading to enlightenment) and wayfarers. In our authority we find the words *śaikṣa* and *aśaikṣa*, signifying persons who are undergoing training and who are no longer in need of religious training respectively.[490] The description of the Āryan person found in the Ratna-sūtra is completely in harmony with the Pali description of *ariya-saṃgha*.[491] Arhats are said to be in their last existence.[492]

Śrotāpanna is the Āryan, says the text, who has broken three of the ten fetters (*saṃyojana*),[493] and he is called a trainee (*śaikṣa*) on the progressive path of training (*śakṣa-bhūmi*).[494] And it is also notable that our text closely follows the Theravāda tradition when it describes *śuddhāvāsa* gods as a class of noble beings who would never come back to earthly existences (*anāvartika-dharmā*), are free from passion (*kāma-rāga*), and will attain *nirvāṇa* without returning.[495]

The arhat as conceived in the Mv. is entirely in affinity with the Theravāda standpoint. Mahāyāna would not admit the idea that an arhat has completely liberated himself and attained *nirvāṇa*. They are to become Perfect Buddhas according to Mahāyānic teaching to achieve emancipation.[496] Our text seems to be totally unaware of this later development of the arhat concept, and little does it contribute to the Mahāsāṅghika tenet that arhats might have doubt and ignorance. Arhats are, following the Mv. absolutely emancipated. They have destroyed all depravities (*kṣiṇāśravā*), kept all vows (*uṣitavratā*), are liberated through perfect knowledge (*samyagajñāna-vimuktā*), have broken the fetters that bound them to existence (*parikṣiṇabhava-saṃyojanā*), and reached the goal (*anuprāpta-svakāryā*).[497] They have fully annihilated passion, hatred, and folly,[498] the three roots of demerit that keep the being bound to *saṃsāra*. The arhats are said to be in their last corporeal existence.[499] The famous analogy of the burning lamp is cited in the Ratnasūtra by way of explaining their death : "As a fire lit by night after burning fiercely goes out for lack of fuel, so also do the wise sons of the Buddha, when they have by their wisdom overcome their proneness to passion, escape the visitation of the king of death."[500]

In addition to this, the text has a number of references to the supernatural powers possessed by great arhats.[501] These details are entirely in accordance with the Theravādin concept of arhat, and far from the Mahāyānic standpoint in this regard.

It is also noteworthy that the Mv. makes no mention of famous Mahāyānic *bodhisattvas* such as Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. The concept of Compassion (*karuṇā*) as elaborated by Mahāyāna authorities is almost absent in the Mv., whereas we do not find any philosophical elucidation concerning the Mahāyānic doctrine of Voidness (*śūnyatā*) embodied in it.

As a whole, the text does not belong to the School of Mahāyāna. The doctrine as represented in the Mv. is in all aspects closer to the Theravādin tradition preserved in the Pali Tipiṭaka. Sporadic passages indicating Mahāyānic touch can be explained as interpolations, and in the absence of the thoroughly Mahāyānic teachings like *śūnyatā*, *mahā-karuṇā*, and *kāya* doctrine as well as the developed form of the bodhisattva ideal it becomes certain that the Mv. has very little in common with any purely Mahāyānic sect.

CHAPTER II

RELATION WITH THE ANCIENT BUDDHIST TRADITION

SECTION I

Navāṅga Division of The Scripture

As the Buddha's teaching gradually assumed the form of an established religious movement with a Scripture of its own, it was but natural that the expounders of this new system by and by became conscious of the immediate necessity of classifying and formulating the bulk of the Master's discourses, which had hitherto been transmitted just as they were : a vast conglomerate of exhortations, discourses, didactic stanzas, similes, parables and fables as well as many utterances of religious character. The earliest attempts in this direction brought about, as we know, the division of the Teaching (*śāsana*) into nine *aṅgas*.

The word *aṅga* denotes a "limb or a subordinate division or department."[1] As a technical term pertaining to the Buddhist Scripture, the word denotes a section or genre of the sacred texts. It is not impossible that the *aṅga* divisions of the Vedic and Jain systems attracted the Buddhist reciters of early times who were entrusted with coining appropriate words. The *aṅga* division, however, seems to have soon become universally accepted, though in later Mahāyānic treatises we find twelve classes (*dvādaśa-aṅga*)[2] instead of the ninefold division (*navāṅga*) of the more ancient tradition.[3]

The nine divisions of the sacred texts according to their contents are enumerated in the Northern tradition as *sūtra*, *geya*, *vaiyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, *ityukta* or *itivṛttaka*, *jātaka*, *adbhuta-dharma* and *vaidalya*; their Pali counter-parts being *sutta*, *geyya*, *veyyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivuttaka*, *jātaka*, *adbhuta-dhamma* and *vedalla*.[4] Among those traditions which have adopted the system of ninefold division, the most important is that of the Theravādin Elders of Ceylon.[5] Some Chinese authorities, canonical as well as post-canonical, also accept, though very

rarely, this early division of the Scripture. Apart from these authorities, the Chinese sources inform us that the Mahāsāṅghikas, a branch of which the Mv. represents, followed this system; and some Mahāyāna *sūtras* and *śāstras* like the Dharmasaṅgraha, the Daśavihāra-vibhāṣā of Nāgārjuna and the SP. also acknowledge it.[6] This last authority, supporting the *navāṅga* division as it is, replaces the three old classes of *vaiyākaraṇa*, *udāna* and *vaidalya* by three new genres, *viz.*, *nidāna*, *aupamya* or *avadāna*, and *upadeśa*.[7]

In our authority we find just one reference to "the treasure of the good Law of nine-fold division",[8] which is, however, sufficient enough to substantiate that the older system is acceptable to it. The text here and there refers to some *aṅgas* by name, *e.g. sūtra*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, and *adbhuta-dharma* in addition to the considerable number of *jātakas* it records.

Following the traditional elucidation of these nine divisions, we learn that some of these classes of the sacred texts had been closely intermingled and inter-related. The *sūtras* (Pali. sutta) signify, according to the Pali tradition, all substantial aphorisms and exhortations headed by the *vibhaṅga*, *niddesa*, *khandaka*, *parivāra*, and smaller but unique discourses such as Maṅgala and Ratna *suttas*.[9] Our authority contains some very important *sūtras*, many of them having their corresponding versions in other canonical works. Some of these discourses assume a unique form in the text, and are called by the name of *sūtra*, *e.g.* Mahā-govindīya-sūtra and Avalokita-sūtra. The term *sūtrānta* is seldom found in our text.[10]

Naraka-parivarta-sūtra is the title given to the vivid description of hells (i.4.12-26.18), introduced immediately after the introductory verses (*nidāna-gāthā*) of the text. Parivarta is a term employed in Buddhist Sanskrit works to denote a section, part or chapter of a treatise. This is the only instance we find in the Mv. where the word is adopted in a colophon in the textual body. This comparatively short *sūtra* can be compared with the Devadūta and Bāla-paṇḍita suttas of the MN.[11] These two suttas in the MN. occur in juxtaposition, and contain much the same materials parallel to the Mv. description of hells. It is also important to notice that immediately after this *sūtra* the Mv. further describes the other unhappy states of existence (*apāya*), while in the Bāla-paṇḍita-sutta a similar description is

presented as a part of the discourse itself. The Chinese translation of the Madhyamāgama also contains the versions of these two *sūtras*.[12] A versified description of hells is attached to the Naraka-parivarta-sūtra, which is found recurring in toto towards the end of the text as well,[13] and it has much in common with the *gāthās* of the *Saṃkicca-jātaka*.[14] The details including the names of hells given in the *sūtra* agree to a great extent with the elaborations of nether regions preserved in the Pañcagatidīpanī and the AbhidhK. also.[15]

The Ratna-sūtra (i.290.11-295.14), delivered by the Buddha in Vaiśālī is preserved in our text in a unique form. The text does not name the *sūtra*, nor does it seem to acknowledge its separate identity as a distinct *sūtra*. From the KN. version[16] we learn that the ancient tradition preferred to call it Ratna-sutta. The opening *gāthā* of the Mv. version is wanting in the Pali counterpart,[17] and there can be noticed some other variations also. Both versions are entirely in harmony as far as the subject matter is concerned, but there exists a notable difference between them regarding the order of arrangement. The Mv. version places the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 14th *gāthās* in the Pali *sutta* as the eleventh, ninth, tenth, seventh, eighth and twelfth in order. The thirteenth *gāthā* (*varo varañ̃ñū*, etc.) of the Pali *sutta* is missing in the Mv., but it records some additional *gāthās* of which there is no trace in the former. At the end of each *gāthā* the Mv. has the extra line *manuṣyato vā amanuṣyato vā*. Apart from these differences, the two versions represent a fine example of the sedulous contribution of the reciters who were pledged to guard the authenticity of the ancient Buddhist tradition.

The Jyotipāla-sūtra (i.317.4-355.9) seems to be a Northern version of the Ghaṭīkāra-sutta of the MN.[18] This *sūtra*, as in its Pali counterpart, presents the beautiful story of the charming intimacy that existed between Ghaṭīkāra the Potter and Kāśyapa the Buddha. The two versions agree in form and substance, and except for a few minor variants, even the style and presentation are almost identical. The Pali version lays more emphasis on the potter's friendship with the Buddha, whereas the Mv. appears to be focussing on the Buddha's prediction of Jyotipāla, the bodhisattva, whence the name of the *sūtra*. In the SN. also we find a Ghaṭīkāra-sutta referring to the friendship

between Ghaṭīkāra and Jyotipāla (Pali. Jotipāla).[19] From the MSV. we learn that the Sanskrit Madhyamāgama also contained this *sūtra* which was known to that authority by the name Nandīpāla-sūtra.[20] In the Chinese Madhyamāgama, the *sūtra* is preserved under the name *Pi-p'o:-ling-ch'i ching*.[21]

Though not presented in the form of a *sūtra*, the section dealing with the origin of the world (i.338.13ff) corresponds to the Aggañña-sutta of the DN.[22] The Mv. account like the Aggañña-sutta deals with the genesis of the world. The Mv. version centres around the genealogy of the Buddha, and bears the title "the origin of the royal line" (*rājavaṃśasya-ādi*). Similar accounts are found in the AbhiS. and the Tibetan Vinaya also.[23] The Chinese version of the Aggañña-sutta is preserved in the Madhyamāgama.[24]

Another important discourse preserved in the Mv. (ii.115.6-140.1) furnishes us with some biographical accounts of the Buddha. The Pali counterpart of this *sūtra* is known as Ariya-pariyesana-sutta (the Discourse on the Noble quest).[25] In the Mv. it has no name. It presents a reliable account of the *bodhi-sattva*'s early wanderings and mortifications. The Bodhirāja-kumāra and Mahāsaccaka suttas in the MN. also contain similar narratives.[26]

The Avalokita-sūtra (ii.257.6ff) is of particular significance as it has no counterpart in the Pali canon. Senart has advanced the hypothesis that this *sūtra* in the text is an interpolation.[27] This has been rendered possible, as scholars have pointed out, by the fact that Śāntideva cites some verses from the Ārya-avalokana-sūtra which was known to him as an independent work.[28] In addition to that the Tibetan translation of this *sūtra* has a separate entity.[29] The *sūtra* contains a legendary account of the Enlightenment, particularly elaborating the defeat of Māra. The second half of the *sūtra* presents a detailed exposition of the efficacy of the worshipping of *stūpas*. Some passages of this section are quoted in the Śikṣ.,[30] but Śāntideva's citation is not borrowed from the Mv. and is remarkable for omitting some verses of the Mv. passages and adding some other verses which are not found in our text.

A *sūtra* dealing with the ordination of Mahā-kāśyapa is recorded in the Mv., the title of which is given as Mahā-kāśyapasya vastu-pravrajyā-sūtra (iii.47.10ff). The Cīvara-sutta of the

SN.[31] corresponds to this *sūtra*. Both deal with the same subject, *i.e.* Mahā-kāśyapa's remonstration against the breach of discipline by some of the disciples of Ānanda, and the consequent narration of his admission to the Order. The two versions are not without some variations. In the SN., for example, Ānanda is seen answering the question raised by Mahā-kāśyapa, whereas in the Mv. version he confesses his inability to compete with the erudition of the latter.

The Mahā-govindīya-sūtra (iii.197.5-224.9) opens with a reference to Pañcaśikha's visit to the Buddha. He relates to the Buddha how Śakra expounds the eight marvellous qualities of an Enlightened One, and how the god Mahā-brahmā narrated the past story of Mahā-govinda before the celestial audience, already elated by Śakra's speech on the Buddha's supreme qualities. The Mahā-govinda-sutta of the DN.[32] is the Pali parallel of this *sūtra*. The two versions are in perfect harmony as to the eight points of the Buddha's marvellous character and the story of Mahā-govinda, recognized to be one of those early forms of the popular stories which later gave birth to the class of *jātakas*.[33] The legend of Mahā-govinda seems to be very old and at the same time very popular as it finds mention in the Cariyāpiṭaka, and in another discourse in the AN.[34] The Karmavibhaṅga also refers to this *sūtra*.[35]

An extensive list of ancient Buddhas and some details regarding their careers are given in the *sūtra* called Bahubuddha-sūtra (iii.224.10-250.7). The mythological character of the *sūtra* is evident, and it is too obvious to state that it represents a contribution of apocryphal developments. The text gives a long list of the past Buddhas, many of them being independent inventions. Some names such as Dīpaṅkara, Arthadarśī, Padmottara and Tiṣya can be traced in the Pali works of late origin, whereas some other names like Indradhvaja and Samantabhadra are familiar to the Northern tradition. But many other names, *e.g.* Jambudhvaja, are peculiar to the Mv. The mythological description of the city of Indratapanā is evidently a replica of the traditional descriptions of legendary cities, so often found in various Buddhist texts. The names of the last six Buddhas beginning with Vipaśyin are commonly known to the Pali tradition also. The *sūtra* is closer to the Pali source with regard to the idea of future Buddhas, as it speaks only of

Maitreya.[36] Some details given in the text regarding the caste, clan, life-span and halo, etc. of former Buddhas can be compared with similar accounts in the Pali texts.

Our text contains a version of the celebrated discourse which is universally regarded as the First Sermon of the Buddha. The *sūtra* (iii.330.17ff) like the other versions of it found in the works of different schools does not bear the name Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra, but the Sermon is referred to in the passage immediately following it as the discourse delivered by the Buddha by way of setting the Wheel of the Law in motion.[37] The *sūtra* presents a pithy elucidation of the Four Noble Truths and records how the whole universe rejoiced at the great event.

Apart from these *sūtras*, we find in the Mv. the Sanskrit versions of the Pabbajjā, Padhāna, Nālaka and Sabhiya suttas of the Pali Canon. In addition to this, there is found a sizable portion of the Khaggavisāṇa-sutta also. In some cases they are, as Dr Bapat has pointed out,[38] identical with the Pali versions in the Sn. word for word, whereas in some other cases, the difference between them seems to be merely a matter of arrangement.

Apart from this we may draw our attention to the large number of passages in the Mv. which have their counterparts in the Pali canon. The legend of the Four Sights of the *bodhisattva*, for instance, can be said to have been derived from a discourse which provided material for the Mahāpadāna-sutta in the DN.[39] The portions dealing with the entreaty of the god Mahā-brahmā, conversation with Upaka, and the accounts of the ordinations of Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, Rāhula, Uruvilvā-kāśyapa, Yaśoda and the group of the thirty friends bear witness to the very important fact that the Mv. has much in common with the Mvg. as far as the early days of the Buddha's mission are concerned.

Geya And Gāthā Divisions

These two divisions represent the second and fourth limbs of the ninefold division of the Teaching. Geya is the term denoting a type of composition where the prose is mingled with verse. The Pali tradition identifies the suttas interspersed with verses, particularly the Sagāthaka-vagga of the SN., as belonging to this class.[40] The Tibetan equivalent of the term, *dbyaṅs-kyis*

bsñad-pa also signifies the 'narration with verses'.[41] Although the Mv. does not specify this class of the Scripture, a considerable portion of this division as preserved in the Sagāthakavagga of the SN., can be found embedded in the last few hundred pages or the text.

As for the nature of the *gāthā* division, there is no controversy among the various traditions that it represents the exhortations composed of stanzas. The Northern tradition seems to include all sayings in verse, having two to six lines in this class.[42] Now this would seem a very broad definition, and it seems difficult to have a clear line of demarcation between *sūtras* and *gāthās*. In the opinion of the Southern tradition, the *gāthā* section consists of the verses included in the Dhammapada, the Theragāthā, the Therigāthā, and some parts of the Sn. Our compilers record a large number of *gāthās*, with or without specifying them as such, and many of these verses are proved to have been derived from a very ancient tradition from which the texts of different schools drew materials. It is not unimportant to remark that the *gāthās* of the Mv., which bear the stamp of high antiquity, probably dating back to the very first century of the Buddhist Era, represent the oldest strata of the Mv. which link it with the ancient Buddhist tradition based on the genuine memory of the Master's Teaching.

A considerable part of the Mv., as it is seen, comprises the teaching of the Master in the forms of *geya* and *gāthā*. The text contains verses the parallels of which can be found in the *Dhammapada*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Suttanipāta*, and some parts of the *SN*. The following table would illustrate this.

i. 29.8-12	Pv.iii.6.5; iv.15.3. cf. Av.p.116
i. 250.5-252.18	Bv.iv.28
ii. 191.1-195.2	Vv.ii.31
iii. 91.19-92.2	Dhammapada xiv.1-2
iii. 108.17-109.4	SN.i, pp.173-74
iii. 109.5-6	Dhammapada xiv.15
iii. 110.8ff; 123.17ff.	Sn.i.12.7
iii. 118.8ff; 326.5ff.	Dhammapada xxiv.20; Sn.i.12.5
iii. 281.11-286.9	SN.i.pp.123-27

iii. 313.19-319.18	SN.i.pp.137-41
iii. 376.11-14	Dhammapada xi.1
iii. 412.16-23	Dhammapada, x.13-14; Divy.p.210
iii. 416.1-7	SN.i.p.105
iii. 417.15-418.7	SN.i.p.107
iii. 420.12-13	Dhammapada xv.5
iii. 420.14-421.6	SN.i.p.200
iii. 421.10-423.6	Dhammapada xxv. 1-23
iii. 434.14-436.17	Dhammapada viii. 1-16

Some *gāthās* of didactic character are found recurring many times in the course of narration. These *gāthās* are most probably taken from an ancient collection of verses particularly popular among preachers of the Doctrine, and as such, they have found their way into other Buddhist texts also. Some of these *gāthās* may be quoted here in order to probe their popularity among various Buddhist authorities:

gatir mṛgānāṃ plavanaṃ ākāśaṃ pakṣiṇāṃ gatiḥ,
dharmo gatir dvijātīnāṃ nirvāṇaṃ arhatāṃ gatiḥ
(ii.212.20-21; iii.156. 17-18, etc. cf. MSV. p. 213)

sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntā samucchrayāḥ,
saṃyogā viprayogāntā maraṇāntaṃ pi jivitaṃ
(iii.152.5-6, i.83. 13-14 cf. Av.p. 234; Divy. p. 17)

kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhante nyagrodhā viya subhūmiyaṃ jātā,
anupanthake viya drumā alpapuṇyā vihīnā ti
(iii.184.4, etc. cf. Divy. p. 53; MSV.p. 53, 69)

Pūrve va sannivāsena pratyutpanne hitena vā,
evaṃ saṃjāyate premnaṃ utpalaṃ va yathodake
(iii.185. 7-8; ii.98. 16-17 cf. Divy. p. 424, DhA.p. 113; SnA. p.428; Vinaya A. p. 21)

Udāna

Udāna is the term employed in the Scripture to denote that division of the Teaching which includes "solemn but joyous utterances generally connected with happy occasions. The Pali tradition defines with precision the *udāna* class as formed

by the eighty-two suttantas, mingled with *gāthās* and delivered in a happy state of mind.[43] The word *udāna* is translated as "Ecstatic Utterances",[44] and defined as "verses uttered in a state of joy".[45] According to the Tibetan translation of the Vyākhyā-yukti, an *udāna* (*ched-du-brjod-pa*) is that "which is spoken, not with regard to (separate) individuals, but only in the interest of maintaining the Doctrine".[46] As such, it is natural that these utterances usually have some religious bearing. The Mv. preserves a few *udānas*, which are generally to be seen transmitted in modulation of a stereotyped phrase signifying its particularly being an *udāna*.[47] These utterances are usually found in verses, though *udānas* in prose are not unknown to the tradition.[48] The text records an *udāna* designated as the first utterance of the Buddha,[49] and this reference is supported by the Mvg. and the Udāna-pāli also.[50] It seems, however, that different schools have accepted different verses as the first *udāna* of the Master.[51]

Jātaka

The scriptural division of *jātaka* tells us of deeds and experiences of the bodhisattva and others in their past lives. The Mv. sometimes employs the word *jātaka* as pointed out by Edgerton,[52] to denote "nativity in the sense of (astrologically determinable) personality and destiny" or possibly "future birth". And in some other instances the text adopts the words *pūrva-caritaṃ* or *sucaritaṃ* to denote a *jātaka* story.[53] Although we cannot historically demonstrate that there was a distinct literature of *jātakas*, so developed and so vast, by the time of the ninefold division of the Scripture,[54] the Pali authorities maintain that the whole *jātaka* collection as we have it is to be regarded as representing the *jātaka* class.[55] The *jātaka* stories are, in the opinion of scholars, not of purely Buddhistic character in origin, and have been adopted and adapted by Buddhist propagators from the rich and extensive bulk of folk-lore.[56]

In the Pali Canon we find only the verses of these stories (*jātaka-gāthā*), which are as a whole not absolutely independent of the *jātaka* Commentary in which the stories connected with these *gāthās* are related at length. Other authorities which make mention of the *jātaka* division, too, seem to be referring not to the mere verses, but to the stories.[57] The JM., the beautiful

poem of Āryaśūra, is notable as a *jātaka* collection in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. The tradition tells us that Aśvaghoṣa also started to write a book comprising a hundred *jātakas*, but the work was left incomplete due to his death.[58] In our own text we find a fine collection of *jātakas*, numbering over forty, and they are investigated, with frequent reference to other corresponding versions, in a separate section of the present chapter.

Adbhuta-dharma

Adbhuta-dharma (Pali.*abbhuta-dhamma*) is the eighth *aṅga* of the ninefold Scripture, divided according to the subject matter. In this class are included elucidations of mysterious or supernatural phenomena connected mainly with the life of the Buddha. The Pali tradition maintains that "all *suttantas* connected with wonderful and marvellous things spoken, should be understood as *abbhuta-dhamma*".[59] The Northern tradition is in agreement with this opinion, but makes it a point to include in this class the elaborations of the miraculous faculties of the *śrāvakas* (disciples) and the *bodhisattvas* as well.[60] The accounts dealing with the marvellous manifestations at the *bodhisattva*'s conception, birth, and Enlightenment, as well as on particular occasions in the Buddha's life are recognized to form the major part of this *aṅga*. Our text embodies some descriptions of this category, and the word *adbhuta-dharma* also occurs in these references.[61]

According to these accounts[62] the *bodhisattva* always remains on the right side of the mother's womb, without movements that would give constant pain and anxiety to her. He sits in the right side of the womb with his legs crossed. He remains perfectly clean and pure throughout the period of gestation, and, he can see his mother. The *bodhisattva* does not undergo the usual process of development as an embryo, as he enters the womb in fully developed form. Hosts of divine beings visit him day and night to inquire after his welfare, and he greets them by raising his right hand, but without hurting his mother. Many supernatural circumstances prevail throughout the period of gestation, which lasts for ten complete months. Celestial beings guard the *bodhisattva* and his mother, and the whole atmosphere assumes a serene and sacrosanct air.

The *bodhisattva*'s mother is also entitled to a number of extra-

ordinary privileges. She always feels comfortable, and nothing in the world can harm her. It is said that not even a bird can fly over her during the period of gestation. She enjoys heavenly perfumes and music, and is honoured by all. She becomes rid of passion, and no man can approach her with carnal thoughts. She can see the *bodhisattva* , occupying the right side of her womb.

Miraculous phenomena like earthquakes and illumination which manifest on the important occasions in the Buddha's life are also to be included in the accounts of this category.

SECTION II

Jātaka stories

As has already been said, the textual body of the Mv. comprises a considerable number of *jātaka* stories. There are approximately forty *jātakas*,[63] narrated in prose, in verse, and in both, covering roughly one third of the text. Almost all these *jātaka* stories can be found adopted and adapted by a number of other authorities representing different schools. Here again, it is in the Pali tradition that we find the greatest number of compatible references, mainly the stories of a similar literary form as found in the Jātaka Commentary. More than half the number of the Mv. *jātaka* tales find their counterparts in the JA., whereas some other *jātakas* exhibit an indirect relation with certain narratives preserved in Pali sources. The AbhiS. contains some *jātaka* versions virtually identical with the Mv. *jātakas*, and the striking affinity that is to be noted between the Mv. and the AbhiS. versions is that they frequently have identical introductions as well as similar motifs.

Other Sanskrit sources also preserve some stories which agree with the Mv. *jātakas* in substance. The JM., Av.Kalp., Divy., and the Av. embody such narratives derived from the self-same original source that provided material for our text. The plain and obvious factors of time and place have indeed brought about conspicuous differences among these versions, all the same the common origin of these divergent stories is unmistakable. We all here have a look at the *jātakas* of our own authority with special reference to similar accounts in other annals representing the common heritage of the ancient Buddhist tradition. And trying to be as much comprehensive as succinct, we may for

convenience's sake classify these stories into four groups, according to the central theme and the literary motive of each *jātaka*, as follows: the *jātakas* concerning (i) the *bodhisattva*'s virtues, (ii) Yaśodharā, (iii) Māra, and (iv) miscellaneous subjects.

The Jātakas on The Bodhisattva's Virtues

The greatest number of the Mv. *jātakas* deals with the Buddha's previous existences in which he displayed and practised certain virtues in the capacity of a *bodhisattva* following the course of training for the attainment of Enlightenment. The singular object of the Pali *jātaka* stories is, it may be remembered, to provide illustrations to the *bodhisattva*'s vigorous exertions which he fervently adhered to by way of fulfilling the ten perfections (*pāramitās*). A smaller proportion of the Pali *jātakas* may have been introduced merely in order to explain the unusual behaviour of a peculiar individual, but the great majority of stories in the JA. are intended to exemplify the *bodhisattva*'s exertions. The Cariyāpiṭaka is especially remarkable in this respect, as it presents a clear classification of stories on the basis of the *pāramitās*.[64] The Mv. *jātakas* also do embody this main object as some stories seem to have been narrated with this in view. The *jātaka* of the monkey (ii.246.3-250.12) or that of the prudent bird (ii.250.20-255.5) can be pointed out as illustrating his wisdom (*prajñā*), or the *jātakas* of Amarā and Śrī as depicting his exertion (*vīrya*). Nevertheless, the narration as well as the theme of the Mv. tales do not seem to lay stress on the theory of Perfections, and hence we cannot be categorical as to the relation between these *jātakas* and the developed doctrine of the course of Perfections. The Mv. selection of *jātakas* does not in any case appear to be a unique attempt to illustrate what can be called an advanced theory of Perfections.

There are however a number of stories which are inserted in the textual body of the work with the direct aim of magnifying the *bodhisattva*'s virtues and merits that form an inseparable part of the course of Perfections. In this category we may include the *jātakas* of the white elephant, the bull, the deer, and many others such as Hastinikā, Śyāmaka, Surūpa, Puṇyavanta, Vijitāvī, Kṣāntivādī, Śarabhaṅga, Dharmapāla and Śarakṣepaṇa *jātakas*.

The three stories, supposedly narrated by the Buddha on his

visit to Vaiśālī, *i.e.* the *jātakas* of the sage Rakṣita, the white elephant, and the bull extol the *bodhisattva*'s power to repel and remove the epidemics caused by unearthly beings and by Natural elements. In the first story the *bodhisattva* is said to have been born as Rakṣita, the son of the Pañcāla king's chaplain. Once the city of Kampilla was taken by a demonic plague, and Rakṣita, who had become a mighty sage in the Himālayas, was invited to the city in order to get rid of the disaster.[65] In the other two stories a white elephant and a graceful bull are seen to possess similar powers to repel such catastrophes. The belief that there exists a rare quality in elephants and bulls who are efficacious in bringing good luck and prosperity was prevalent in the contemporary society, and we may be sure that the expounders of the ancient Buddhist tradition had nothing against such popular ideas so far as they did not pose a direct impediment in the way of inculcating the Buddhist principles of ethical and moral value. On the contrary it appears that the Elders more often than not employed these current ideas and beliefs of public consciousness as a vehicle for a better propagation of their religion. The purport of these stories seems to be to lay stress on the Buddha's magical power to vanquish disastrous elements hostile to the well-being of humanity.

The Pali tradition does not represent the Buddha as introducing these stories on his spectacular visit to the plague-stricken city, but the idea of removing through such means the threat of pestiferous calamities out of human control was definitely known to that tradition, too. We hear of an auspicious white elephant capable of bringing rain, which was given away by Vessantara the *bodhisattva* in favour of the drought-stricken kingdom of Kaliṅga.[66] In the *Kurudhamma-jātaka*, however, we find a protest against the popular belief in such objects as efficient in bringing prosperity which is according to that *jātaka* definitely to be accomplished by virtuous conduct.[67] It is too obvious to state that the Mv. authors have adopted the idea as it suited the occasion, the Buddha himself bringing happiness to a doomed city, and accordingly, the elephant, the bull, and the sage in the above said stories were identified with the *bodhisattva*.[68]

The *Śyāmaka* and *Hastinikā jātakas*[69] extol the *bodhisattva*'s loyal service rendered to his parents; a high virtue included in

the Perfection of Morality (*śīla*). In both stories he is described as waiting upon his blind parents; in the *Hastinikā jātaka* as an elephant full of filial affection, and in the *Śyāmaka-jātaka* as a young hermit loving his parents more than his own life. In the Pali tradition we find the counterparts of both the stories in the Sāma and Mātuposaka jātakas.[70] The AbhiS. preserves a similar version of the Hastinikā-jātaka,[71] whereas Kṣemendra in the eleventh century A.D. found the story of Śyāmaka still competent to appeal to the hearts of dutiful sons.[72]

In these two stories the pious son's duty towards the aged and decrepit parents is so touchingly elaborated that the faithful, moved by the pathetic tone of the narrative, cannot but regard the stories as true and solid examples for an ideal son. In both stories the son, who happens to be the only succour of the helpless parents, falls into serious trouble; Śyāmaka hit by a poisoned arrow and the elephant captured and taken to the royal elephant-stall in Vārāṇasī, but in both the cases the virtuous Great Being is saved mainly because of his moral power.

Despite these similarities, there are some notable differences among the various narratives of these two stories as found in our sources. In the Mv., the *Śyāmaka-jātaka* is introduced in the form of an illustration for Śuddhodana's conviction that Siddhārtha would not die a premature death,[73] in contradiction to which the JA., and the Av. Kalp. relate the story as a suitable instance of the son's duty towards his parents.[74] Evidently the Mv. authors did not know the proper place for the *jātaka*, and finding the faint resemblance between Śuddhodana's strong faith and that of Śyāmaka's parents as to the *bodhisattva*'s survival, they inserted the story in the account of the mortifications. But the facts speak for themselves as even the Mv. version, given in the two distinct forms in prose and verse, lays emphasis on the commendable virtue of waiting upon the parents.[75]

In the Mv. and the Av. Kalp. versions the parents of Śyāmaka[76] are brahmins, but in the JA. account they are but the son and daughter of two hunter chieftains. Our text does not name the father, and the mother's name is given as Pāragā. The JA. knows them as Dukūlaka and Pārikā, whereas the Av. Kalp gives the two names as Subandhu and Gomatikā. The couple adopted the religious life in the Himālayas, according to the Sanskrit versions, after Śyāmaka was born,[77] but the JA.

maintains that they had a son only after they were prompted to do so by Śakra who foresaw that they were destined to become blind.[78] The Pali commentary is more informative as it describes how they became blind due to the venom of a furious cobra, and what sinful act in their former life eventuated in this tragedy.[79] Another difference is that the Buddhist Sanskrit versions hold that the king shot him with a poisonous arrow by mistake, but in the JA. he is seen deliberately shooting him. Our text seems to hold that Śyāmaka, hit by the king's arrow, died whereas the Pali version makes him only subject to a temporary state of unconsciousness.

The *Hastinikā-jātaka* elaborates how the *bodhisattva*, born as an elephant, looked after the aged and blind mother in the dense forests of the Himālayas. In the Pali tradition the story is given as an illustration of the high virtue of serving parents, but in the Mv. and the AbhiS. the incident of Mahā-prajāpatī Gotamī's becoming blind and the restoration of her vision on the occasion of the Buddha's miracle at Kapilavastu becomes the preamble to the narrative.[80] The story is a good example to prove how the same story has been utilized by different schools for different didactic purposes. The Pali *jātaka* concerns the *bodhisattva*'s release from the royal elephant-stall, which was possible only because of the meritorious practice of attending upon his mother, but in the Mv. and the AbhiS. it is the restoration of the female elephant's vision that gains prominence. In the Pali *jātaka* the female elephant is not said to have regained her eyesight even after the return of her son, though in the Sāma-jātaka the blind parents' eyesight was restored simultaneously with the son's resurrection. The importance of the story is, however, equally recognized by different schools as, to quote Foucher, "*Il avait notamment donné un example de piété resté si célèbre que les hagiographes se sont efforcés de l'etoffer et de l'enjoliver a leur facon*".[81]

The *Surūpa-jātaka* emphasizes the *bodhisattva*'s keen and sincere love for didactic utterances (*subhāṣita*). The *jātaka* is very short, and our text has three forms of it, though one of them is a mere reference to the well-known story. In the first version Surūpa is a king who offered wife, son and himself to be devoured by an ogre in exchange for religious instruction, and the text speaks of the event as it actually took place, the ogre being

a real *rākṣasa*.[82] The second reference tells us of a king who, in his quest for religious instruction, gave away the whole Jambu-dvīpa as the price for a single stanza.[83] The third account, which calls itself the *jātaka* of Surūpa,[84] is more elaborative, though in this narrative Surūpa is only a deer-king . Different from the other two versions as it is, the *jātaka* explains how Śakra himself came to Surūpa in the disguise of a hunter, and asked the deer for its flesh in exchange for a didactic utterance, though it was only to test the *bodhisattva*. The Mv. incorporates a few more similar instances,[85] to affirm the *bodhisattva*'s unsatiable quest for moral instruction, for which he was always ready to sacrifice his life and everything.

These stories are missing in the JA., but it may be remembered here that the Pali tradition accepts *ipso facto* the idea that there comes a time when the words of the Buddha are not easily heard, and kings sent forth caparisoned elephants with a thousand pieces of gold just for obtaining a single verse of the true doctrine.[85]

After all, the *Surūpa-jātaka* of our text is not isolated. The Av. contains a similar story under the same title, and it can be identified easily with the first version of the story in the Mv. As in the *Surūpa-jātaka* of the Mv., Śakra comes to make a trial of the *bodhisattva*, and demands his wife, son, and himself for food as the cost of a *subhāṣita*.[87] But the stanza given in that work as the utterance of the Divine Superior is different from the ones given in our authority,[88] and the fact that the Mv. makes three insignificant but distinct stories out of a single fable testifies to the phenomenon that the expositors of the new Faith were still at liberty to make independent adjustments in the stories they borrowed from the great bulk of the common Indian heritage of folk-lore.

The *Puṇyavanta-jātaka* and the *Vijitāvi-jātaka* seem to have been introduced to substantiate the view that the Buddha evaluated merit (*puṇya*) above all other qualities.[89] Four friends, according to the *Puṇyavanta-jātaka*, had a dispute as to which was the best of all among the qualities of physical beauty, strength, wisdom and merit The *bodhisattva* was of the opinion that merit was the most desirable as well as the most profitable among these qualities; and the story takes us to a fanciful world where the *bodhisattva*'s view is decisively proved to be correct.[90] The

jātaka does not definitely deny the efficacy and desirability of beauty, energy and wisdom, but merit is, according to this tale, above all and supreme. The Mv. esteems merit, one may presume, as the most efficient means to attain worldly prosperity and spiritual emancipation. Immediately after the Enlightenment, the Buddha extolled the joyful sequels of merit, and accumulating merit is said to be leading one to *nirvāṇa* as well as to heaven.[91] The Pali tradition appears to profess that wisdom is the highest quality among all worldly achievements.[92]

As the *Puṇyavanta-jātaka* is without any counterpart in other Buddhist authorities of the ancient tradition, so is the *jātaka* of Vijitāvī,[93] the generous king who gave away whatever people asked from him. He was the ruler in Mithilā, and was banished from his kingdom by the helmsmen of the administration on account of his ultra-generosity. Śakra comes to test him during his exile, and admonishes him not to be generous any longer, as it would lead him to hell.[94] The Divine Superior causes the king witness even an apparitional hell, in which those who practised charity were reborn, but the latter insists on continuing his noble principles. The story establishes the final triumph of the righteous path by making Vijitāvī return to Mithilā as the re-installed king. Although the ancient tradition offers us no similar birth-story, yet in the JM. we come across a parallel view finding expression in the *Śreṣṭhi-jātaka*.[95] The story is known to the Southern tradition, too, in the form of the *Kadiraṅgāra-jātaka*,[96] but in this story it is not Śakra, but Māra that interfered with a devoted alms-giver's charity. Māra creates the terrible scene of a burning hell just in front of the pious man (*bodhisattva*) so that he may be prevented from offering anything to the Pratyeka-buddha, standing at his door. And Māra himself comes in *propria persona* to declare that one shall be doomed to hell for exercising generosity.[97] The reciters of this marvellous story follow the same line of thinking as found in the *Vijitāvī jātaka* when they elaborate how charity overcame the wicked opposition.

The *Kṣāntivādi-jātaka*, a very famous story in the Buddhist tradition, is presented in the Mv. as a subsidiary portion of the *Śarabhaṅga-jātaka*. The story has a separate identity in the J.A., JM., and the Av. Kalp., where it has been recounted as a fine example of the *bodhisattva*'s fulfilment of the Perfection of forbea-

rance (*kṣānti*). The *jātaka* describes how an ascetic, practising forbearance to its full extent was lynched by a cruel king who was enraged to see the former being attracted by his women in attendance. The Pali *jātaka*[98] gives the ascetic's name as Kuṇḍala, but the Sanskrit tradition does not, as Edgerton has pointed out,[99] give any name. He is generally known as Kṣāntivādin (Pali. Khantivādī), and the king's name is known to the tradition by the variant forms of Kalabha (Mv.iii.357.4), Kali (Av. Kalp. p. 244), and Kalābu (JA.iii.p.28). The JM. does not give any name.

The Mv. makes a special modification of the story when it says that milk flowed from the ascetic's body as it was being dismembered by the wicked king.[100] The Pali version tells us it was only blood that oozed from his body, but according to that source, it was not the king himself, but the executioners that tortured Kṣāntivādī. Another remarkable point in the Pali version is that the king was awakened by the jealous woman in whose lap he was asleep. It is interesting to notice here that the SNA. records a similar incident with regard to Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja and King Udena.[101] While the Elder Piṇḍola was preaching to Udena's harem in the garden, the latter was cunningly awakened by a woman; and angered to see what was going on, he endeavoured to punish the Elder, but failed as the latter flew through the air. The living memory of this kind of incident may have influenced the Pali *Khantivādi-jātaka*, but the story as we find recorded in the Buddhist tradition is certainly not wholly invented by the Buddhist clergy, but rather is borrowed from the same source of the common folklore. That the Mv. neglects its independent entity and the excellent moral that the story contains *i.e.* the ideal of forbearance, proves that the compilers did not recognize the separate existence of the story which they found only as a part of the *Śarabhaṅga-jātaka*.

When Hieuen Tsiang visited Udyāna many centuries later he found a *stūpa* commemorative of the tragic end of the ascetic still worshipped in that part of India. The story is referred to in the Karmavibhaṅga and the Vajracchedikā also.[102] Another tradition identifies the king with Ajñāta-kauṇḍinya,[103] but one fails to see the reason for this identification.

The *Śarabhaṅga-jātaka* exemplifies, according to our authority, that the bodhisattva used to preach amidst gods and men even

in his former existences. The Pali tradition records the story under the same title,[104] but there it was narrated in connection with the honour paid by the Master to the relics of Maudgalyāyana, who enacts the *rôle* of Kisa-vaccha in that *jātaka*. The Southern tradition once again shows its remarkable aptitude to fix stories symmetrically, as it really displays a strong resemblance between the *jātaka* and its preamble (*nidāna*). Moggallāna died, as we know, of injuries inflicted upon his person by hired ruffians, and the story, most probably narrated by the Buddha or at least by the ancient reciters in regard to this event, describes how four ancient kings went to hell for their wicked conduct towards saints. Śarabhaṅga, an anterior incarnation of the Buddha, was a brahmin youth who became a great sage. His name is given in the Mv. as Yajñadatta, but the JA. calls him Jotipāla. Because of his extraordinary skill in archery, he received the epithet Śarabhaṅga, and according to the Pali version, he renounced the world the day he was appointed as the Commander-in-chief in the kingdom of Banaras. The story presents the gloomy picture of the tragic circumstances to which the ascetics of ancient times frequently fell victims. Both versions give identical names for the four ancient kings who tortured innocent ascetics.[105] The Papañca-sūdanī also records in detail the incidents connected with Kisavaccha (Mv. Vatsa) and King Nālikera of Kaliṅga.[106]

The *Dharmapāla-jātaka* in the Mv. is another illustration of the fact that the compilers were not certain as to the proper application of the *jātaka* tales at their disposal. The text generally presents *jātakas* in their developed and complete form, but as far as the introduction and the identification of characters are concerned, our authorities seem to be sometimes entirely uncompromising among themselves. The Pali authority narrates the story, which is known to us by the name *Mahā-dhammapāla-jātaka*,[107] by way of corroborating that Śuddhodana had good faith in his son even in former lives, which is in complete harmony with the theme and presentation of the *Dharmapāla-jātaka* which relates the story of a father who did not believe the news that his son died a premature death. The Mv. quotes the story as an instance of the *bodhisattva*'s earning honour for his family in other births as well, just as Siddhārtha did in the great display of archery.[108] But slender conformity is to be seen between

the present incident and the past story which the text tries to link it with. Besides, the brahmin youth Dharmapāla is identified in the Mv. with Rāhula, who in reality has nothing to do with the introduction of the *jātaka*. The Pali story is not different from the Mv. counterpart, except that in the JA. the preceptor of Dharmapāla intentionally visits his father to see whether he really believed that no member of the family would die young, whereas in the Mv. we are told that the teacher was actually mistaken by the corpse of somebody else which he took to be the dead body of Dharmapāla, half-eaten by a water-demon. These minor differences do not affect the proposition that both the versions were derived from one and the same original source, but it may likewise prove the fact that the original story was but a mere folk tale with no preamble and identification of the main characters with historical persons, which were attached independently in due course of development.

The Śarakṣepaṇa-jātaka also deals with the same subject, and elaborates how the *bodhisattva* in one of his former births shot an arrow from Takṣaśilā to Vārāṇasī. The story, though short and abrupt, agrees with the introduction, if the compilers intended to give an illustration of Siddhārtha's unparalleled skill displayed in the tournament. The Pali tradition has no similar *jātaka*, but in the Asadisa-jātaka[109] there is a reference to the *bodhisattva*'s shooting an arrow with a message to the assembly of enemy kings.

(*B*) *Jātakas on Yaśodharā*

A considerable proportion of the Mv. *jātakas* seems to have been employed to throw light on the vague personality of Yaśodharā. The tradition unequivocally accepts Yaśodharā[110] as the chief consort of the prince Siddhārtha, but very little is known about her place in the Buddha's career, as the *bodhisattva*'s married life never attracted the dogmatic minded ecclesiastic as a significant topic worthy of lengthy discussions. The idle talks of monks gathered in the assembly of the Master, however, seem to promise some information regarding her present as well as past career, thus bringing to light the attitude that the ancient tradition maintained as regards Yaśodharā.

The *Godhā-jātaka* maintains that Yaśodharā was of fastidious character, which she inherited from the cycle of her anterior

births. The monks express their surprise, as the narrative continues,[111] over the point that she was not satisfied even after she was given the necklace and the ring by the *bodhisattva*, valued at a hundred thousand pieces each, at the function of distributing ornaments; and the Buddha thereupon relates the *jātaka* of the lizard (*godhā*) in order to show that Yaśodharā was hard to satisfy not only in this life, but also in other existences. Following the story, we meet a prince banished from his kingdom, living in the forest with his wife. One day a cat brings a dead lizard of large size (*vaṭharāṃ godhāṃ*) and leaves it by the hermitage, but the princess, not knowing that the thing was fit for human consumption, did not prepare it as a meal. When the prince returned, he got angry in discovering her carelessness, and after cooking it he selfishly ate the whole lizard without leaving a morsel for the poor princess. The latter was deeply annoyed over what happened and was unable to forget it for a very long period, even after her husband made big recompenses for his mischief.

The AbhiS. slightly differs from the Mv. in its presentation of the story. According to this version, the prince himself hunted the lizard, and ate the whole of it, even before it was properly boiled, merely out of hunger.[112] In the *Pakkagodha-jātaka* we find the Pali parallel of this story, though that *jātaka* does not allude to Yaśodharā. The Pali version also speaks of a royal couple, who on the way back to their hometown happened to receive a lizard, already cooked. After sending the princess for water, the husband enjoys the tasty meal all alone, merely out of hunger aggravated by greediness. The Princess' enquiry as to the cooked lizard and the prince's crooked answer are the same as in the Mv., and the *gāthās* are also almost word for word identical.[113] But the Pali *jātaka* delineates rather an irresponsible husband than an irritated wife. Even after ascending the throne, the prince shows no interest in the queen, let alone offering her valuables, as depicted in the Mv. story. We cannot ascertain how far the story underwent changes in taking on a Buddhist colour, but we may be sure that this is one more example of the fact that compilers and reciters of different traditions adopted the same story with independent variations to suit their purpose.

One may certainly feel that the Mv. authors were little inte-

rested in doing justice to the *rôle* of Yaśodharā. In the *Śyāmā-jātaka* she is given the perfidious *rôle* of a whore who betrays her trusted companion out of her carnal lust for a stranger. The stranger, who was none other than the *bodhisattva*, runs away from her as he was terrified with the apprehension that he would also be treated in a similar way. The Pali tradition would never tolerate anything that might stigmatize the sacrosanct image of Yaśodharā. The JA. records a similar story, *i.e.* the *Kaṇavera-jātaka*,[114] without referring to Yaśodharā. The person whom Sāmā rescues at the cost of her companion's life is, according to the Pali source, not a horse-dealer as in the Mv., but an actual thief, though he is identified with the *bodhisattva*. The *jātaka* begins with a description of the sinful activities of the thief. The cunning and ruthless behaviour of the courtesan is vividly painted in both versions, but the Pali *jātaka* makes no attempt to hide the real character of the *bodhisattva*, too. He takes her into the garden, not to the pond as in the Mv., and making her fall unconscious, he runs away, not as the horse-dealer in the *Śyāmā-jātaka*, but as a professional thief, with all her costly ornaments. The Pali story allows the *bodhisattva* to become a mean character,[115] but Yaśodharā is for that tradition always pure and unimpeachable. On the other hand the Mv. never records the *bodhisattva* as playing an immoral *rôle*.

This is on no account to mean that the text deliberately attempts to paint Yaśodharā in an unfavourable colour. The fact that she saved the *bodhisattva*'s life is appreciated,[116] and the compilers record another *jātaka* probably by way of attempting to mitigate the harshness of what they have already implied regarding her. In the *jātaka* of Campaka[117] we are told how a *nāga* king who fell into the unkind hands of a snake-charmer was rescued by his wife, an incarnation of Yaśodharā. The *Campeyya-jātaka* in the Pali Jātaka Commentary[118] corresponds to this story; and it appears to agree with the Mv. version in all aspects including the most minute details. The Pali story gives some more details as to the harassment caused by the snake-charmer to the *nāga* king, which were felt to be an indispensable part of the story in accordance with the motive of the story, *i.e.* to extol the highest performance of morality (*śīla*).

The *Vyāghrī-jātaka*[119] sheds light on a situation which is not known to the works belonging to the Southern School. After

births. The monks express their surprise, as the narrative continues,[111] over the point that she was not satisfied even after she was given the necklace and the ring by the *bodhisattva*, valued at a hundred thousand pieces each, at the function of distributing ornaments; and the Buddha thereupon relates the *jātaka* of the lizard (*godhā*) in order to show that Yaśodharā was hard to satisfy not only in this life, but also in other existences. Following the story, we meet a prince banished from his kingdom, living in the forest with his wife. One day a cat brings a dead lizard of large size (*vaṭharāṃ godhāṃ*) and leaves it by the hermitage, but the princess, not knowing that the thing was fit for human consumption, did not prepare it as a meal. When the prince returned, he got angry in discovering her carelessness, and after cooking it he selfishly ate the whole lizard without leaving a morsel for the poor princess. The latter was deeply annoyed over what happened and was unable to forget it for a very long period, even after her husband made big recompenses for his mischief.

The AbhiS. slightly differs from the Mv. in its presentation of the story. According to this version, the prince himself hunted the lizard, and ate the whole of it, even before it was properly boiled, merely out of hunger.[112] In the *Pakkagodha-jātaka* we find the Pali parallel of this story, though that *jātaka* does not allude to Yaśodharā. The Pali version also speaks of a royal couple, who on the way back to their hometown happened to receive a lizard, already cooked. After sending the princess for water, the husband enjoys the tasty meal all alone, merely out of hunger aggravated by greediness. The Princess' enquiry as to the cooked lizard and the prince's crooked answer are the same as in the Mv., and the *gāthās* are also almost word for word identical.[113] But the Pali *jātaka* delineates rather an irresponsible husband than an irritated wife. Even after ascending the throne, the prince shows no interest in the queen, let alone offering her valuables, as depicted in the Mv. story. We cannot ascertain how far the story underwent changes in taking on a Buddhist colour, but we may be sure that this is one more example of the fact that compilers and reciters of different traditions adopted the same story with independent variations to suit their purpose.

One may certainly feel that the Mv. authors were little inte-

rested in doing justice to the *rôle* of Yaśodharā. In the *Śyāmā-jātaka* she is given the perfidious *rôle* of a whore who betrays her trusted companion out of her carnal lust for a stranger. The stranger, who was none other than the *bodhisattva*, runs away from her as he was terrified with the apprehension that he would also be treated in a similar way. The Pali tradition would never tolerate anything that might stigmatize the sacrosanct image of Yaśodharā. The JA. records a similar story, *i.e.* the *Kaṇavera-jātaka*,[114] without referring to Yaśodharā. The person whom Sāmā rescues at the cost of her companion's life is, according to the Pali source, not a horse-dealer as in the Mv., but an actual thief, though he is identified with the *bodhisattva*. The *jātaka* begins with a description of the sinful activities of the thief. The cunning and ruthless behaviour of the courtesan is vividly painted in both versions, but the Pali *jātaka* makes no attempt to hide the real character of the *bodhisattva*, too. He takes her into the garden, not to the pond as in the Mv., and making her fall unconscious, he runs away, not as the horse-dealer in the *Śyāmā-jātaka*, but as a professional thief, with all her costly ornaments. The Pali story allows the *bodhisattva* to become a mean character,[115] but Yaśodharā is for that tradition always pure and unimpeachable. On the other hand the Mv. never records the *bodhisattva* as playing an immoral *rôle*.

This is on no account to mean that the text deliberately attempts to paint Yaśodharā in an unfavourable colour. The fact that she saved the *bodhisattva*'s life is appreciated,[116] and the compilers record another *jātaka* probably by way of attempting to mitigate the harshness of what they have already implied regarding her. In the *jātaka* of Campaka[117] we are told how a *nāga* king who fell into the unkind hands of a snake-charmer was rescued by his wife, an incarnation of Yaśodharā. The *Campeyya-jātaka* in the Pali Jātaka Commentary[118] corresponds to this story; and it appears to agree with the Mv. version in all aspects including the most minute details. The Pali story gives some more details as to the harassment caused by the snake-charmer to the *nāga* king, which were felt to be an indispensable part of the story in accordance with the motive of the story, *i.e.* to extol the highest performance of morality (*śila*).

The *Vyāghrī-jātaka*[119] sheds light on a situation which is not known to the works belonging to the Southern School. After

the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation, Yaśodharā was sought in marriage by Devadatta and Sundara-nanda, but she proved her immutable loyalty to the *bodhisattva* and refused both of them. Taking into account what has been said of Yaśodharā in other authorities,[120] it may be presumed that the incident refers to a situation that might have actually arisen at a certain period of her life, though it is not supported by the Theravādin tradition. This *jātaka* tries to establish that loyalty to the *bodhisattva* was an age-long practice with Yaśodharā.

The story takes us again to the animal world where we find Yaśodharā born as a tigress. Devadatta is reborn as an elephant, and Sundara-nanda, a bull. The *bodhisattva* as usual holds the superior character, this time as a lion. The animals hold a competition to elect a king, and the tigress stands first among the competitors. As a female was not desirable for the throne, she was asked to choose a husband who would be regarded as the king of animals. The bull and the elephant eagerly offered themselves for the enviable post, but the tigress, rejecting both of them, chose the lion as her husband.

The AbhiS. also preserves this story with minor variances.[121] In that text, for example, the competition for kingship is not mentioned and the tigress, being very beautiful, was sought by animals for marriage. The story has no parallel in the JA. However, the Southern tradition furnishes us with a number of beautiful instances of Yaśodharā's faithfulness in her former lives. The *Candakinnara-jātaka*[122] is particularly notable in this regard. The tigress in the *Vyāghrī-jātaka* refused and ridiculed the bull and the elephant because, as it is clearly seen, she was impressed by the lion's strength. There is no sincere expression of love and affection in the utterances of the tigress as recorded in our text. On the other hand, the *Candakinnara-jātaka* is replete with poetical expressions which strongly convey the guileless *kinnarī's* real love for the kinnara. The bereaved *kinnarī* refused point-blank the hand of the king of Banaras, who killed her husband.[123] It may be pointed out that the JA. is always more artistic and touching in expressing human sentiments, emotions and feelings. The comparatively archaic and less poetical style of the Mv. *jātakas* may bear evidence to the fact that they probably represent an older stage of the growth of these stories.

Another three *jātakas, i.e.* Amarā, Śrī, and Kinnarī maintain

that Yaśodharā was won by the *bodhisattva* by means of skill in arts and crafts (*śilpa*), exertion (*virya*), and perseverance accompanied with hardship (*kheda*). Amarā the daughter of a blacksmith was won by Mahuṣadha, the *bodhisattva*, by means of his unequalled dexterity in blacksmithing.[124] The Mv. story seems to be the result of the confusion of two separate stories found in the JA. The *Sūci-jātaka*[125] presents a story which resembles the Mv. version of Amarā's *jātaka* in outline. A skilful blacksmith, having heard of the beautiful daughter of the chief royal blacksmith, ventured to prove his ability in subtle works and thereby won her hand in marriage. The story in the JA. and the AbhiS. is plain, unique and intelligible. But the Mv. leads the reader into perplexity, as it involves another story of the JA. The title, names of the hero and the heroine, and the interesting puzzles given in the Mv. story are well-known in the Pali *Mahā-ummagga-jātaka*,[126] but the context is entirely different in that story. The Mv. puzzles are rather out of place, and do not sound quite coherent with the theme of the narrative. It is also worthy of our attention that the AbhiS. version of the story, related exactly in the same context as in our text, has no puzzles put forward by the two lovers. The two stories were confounded in the Mv., evidently as the original of the Mv. version of Amarā's story had a reference to the *Mahā-ummagga-jātaka*.[127] As the tradition had not cared to name the hero and the heroine of the *Sūci-jātaka*, the Mv. authors were led to borrow the two names from the *Mahā-ummagga-jātaka*.[128]

The *Śrī-jātaka* is also one of those birth-stories of our collection which are not to be found in the JA.[129] Our authority is not absolutely isolated, at any rate, for the AbhiS. also records this story.[130] This *jātaka* is put forward in support of the fact that the *bodhisattva*, ever bound in love with Yaśodharā, not only did all possible things but also attempted impossible things with the determination to obtain her. The *bodhisattva*, born as a brahmin youth, tried to empty the ocean so that he might recover his lost treasure which was acquired through so much hardship. The sea-goddess, moved by the young man's indefatigable perseverance, returned what he was so determined to get back from the depth of the sea, and he finally won Śrī, the daughter of his teacher.[131]

The *Kinnari-jātaka*[132] merits our attention as a dramatic love

story in the Buddhist apparel. It is remarkable that the story is not traceable in the Pali tradition, whereas it has become a popular subject of Buddhist Sanskrit works. The story is recorded in the Mv. as an illustration of the point that the *bodhisattva* won Yaśodharā through hardship. The story elaborates how the prince Sudhanu, a previous incarnation of the *bodhisattva*, fell in love with Manoharā the nymph (*kinnarī*) who was captured and brought to Vārāṇasī to be sacrificed in a great *yajña* (formal sacrifice). Sudhanu saves her life and the couple lived in peace for sometime after which the *kinnarī* was obliged to retire to her own remote world. Sudhanu being unable to resist his deep love for her, follows her footsteps up to the world of *kinnaras*; and having gone through many difficulties, finally brings her back. This charming love story is, to be sure, in direct contrast to the *Śyāmā-jātaka* in which the *bodhisattva* is represented as deserting Yaśodharā without any concern.

The Divy., the MSV., and the Av.Kalp.[133] preserve the story though not without their own modifications. The recast of the *Kinnarī-jātaka* preserved in these works agrees with the Mv. in many respects, including the names and main characters, but the differences are also conspicuous. According to these versions the sacrifice was planned by the royal chaplain as a means to revenge the prince and Manoharā whom he hated, and she had been caught by means of a charm which was in the possession of a hunter. Yet these authorities follow the Mv. with regard to the point that it was the sage in the Himālayas who divulged the secret method of enchanting the *kinnarī*. These versions differ from the Mv. as they describe how the vicious purohita incited the king to hold the sacrifice during the prince's absence. Manoharā escapes, and flies through air with her magical jewel (*cūḍāmaṇi*). On the way she gave her ring not to the hunters as in our text[134] but to the sage who was actually responsible for her captivity. The ring came to *kinnarī* in the same way as described in our text, but he had to go through a series of ordeals to satisfy her father before he obtained his consent for the reunion with Manoharā.

The Mv. version probably preserves the older form of the *jātaka*. Legendary features are more colourful in the other versions, but, remarkably enough, the religious discourse delivered by Sudhanu[135] finds no place in them.

A favourable attitude towards Yaśodharā finds expression in the *Śrīprabha-jātaka* also.[136] Udāyin commended her faithful behaviour even after the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation, as she also adopted the religious vows and proved to be a loyal wife following the footprints of her husband (*anuvratā*). This commendation led the Master to narrate this *jātaka* in praise of her good character. Once upon a time the Great Being was born as the deer Śrīprabha, Yaśodharā being his consort. One day, the deer was trapped in a strong snare from which there was no escape for him. The female deer, seeing her husband in this helpless plight, remained with him and offered herself before the hunter. The hunter, identified as Ānanda, was so impressed on her unusual behaviour that he set the male deer free and let them go. The Mv. tradition is consolidated by the AbhiS. which presents us the same story narrated as an illustration of Yaśodharā's loyalty.[137]

The Pali tradition preserves this tale under the name of *Suvaṇṇa-miga-jātaka*.[138] The story would have been an excellent ground for magnifying the noble character of Yaśodharā, but strangely enough, the JA. identifies the female deer as a certain young nun (*dahara-bhikkhuṇī*).

The two *jātaka* stories of Nalinī and Padumāvatī, supposedly told by the Enlightened One on his first visit to Kapilavastu also add to the image of Yaśodharā. The preamble to the *Nalinī-jātaka* would have us believe that Yaśodharā attempted to allure the Buddha on his return to Kapilavastu after Enlightenment.[139] Now, this is a point that is not at all supported by the Southern tradition. The Mv. records the story of the princess Nalinī who seduced Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the innocent celebate, as a proof of the theory that the same thing occurred in the past also. The Pali version of the *Nalinikā-jātaka*[140] is far from such a view, and gives as the introduction an insignificant incident which has nothing to do with the lives of the Buddha and Yaśodharā.

Both versions of this legend eagerly relate how the princess succeeded in the task of seducing the young hermit, but the Mv. passes over the erotic description of the union between the voluptuous princess and the volatile youth; and the text perhaps omitted the scene because of its thoroughly mundane character. The Pali version is in a sense less sophisticated than the *Nalinī-jātaka* of our authority. This tale, it may be remembered here,

is never treated by monks as a piece of good taste for the Buddhist audience at the preaching hall. As regards the identification of characters, the two versions differ from each other. In the Mv. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga himself has been identified as the *bodhisattva* whom Nalinī deprived of his religious sanctity, whereas the JA. maintains that the *bodhisattva* was his father who protected the young ascetic from her tricks.[141]

The *Pad(u)māvati-jātaka* reveals that Yaśodharā was blamed and tortured by the Śākyan elders on groundless suspicion, though the text does not elaborate the point. Padumāvatī was an innocent girl brought up in a sylvan hermitage exactly in the same way as described regarding Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. The king of Banaras espoused her and escorted her to the palace, but only to fall a victim to the vicious intrigues of the queens. The story is given the form of a *jātaka* mainly because of the similarity between the king's condemnation of the pure and faithful Padumāvatī and Śuddhodana's despising Yaśodharā. The JA. presents no parallel story, and even the other Sanskrit works do not show acquaintance with the romantic legend of Padumāvatī. There is, however, a similar story recorded in the Paramattha-dīpanī, the Commentary to the Therigāthā, as a part of the story of Uppalavaṇṇā the nun.[142] The Pali legend also describes the same meritorious deed by virtue of which lotuses were manifested after the heroine's steps, as we find in our text,[143] but according to the ThigA. the princess was born in the calyx of a lotus. That in our text the *Nalinī-jātaka* has been the model of this story is evident as it follows the same lines as the preceding *jātaka*. According to the Pali story, the king, having heard from a hunter of the beautiful Padumāvatī, approached her father, and obtained his consent for marrying her even before he saw her. The rest of the narrative is more or less in agreement with the Mv. version except that the princess is said to have had five hundred sons. Furthermore, the Pali story continues up to the present existence of Uppalavaṇṇā.

We cannot be certain, in the light of the material at our disposal, whether the Mv. dragged the story into the text with a view to substantiate the point that Yaśodharā was unreasonably suspected by her in-laws, or the Pali counterpart, on the contrary, deliberately suppressed the unhappy phase of the episode and connected it with Uppalavaṇṇā. The juxtaposition of the

two stories of Nalinī and Padumāvatī in the Mv. may at any rate suggest that the latter was intended to be the compensation for the picture of Yaśodharā presented in the preceding *jātaka*.

One of the most interesting *jātakas* embodied in the Mv. is the *Mañjarī-jātaka*.[144] The story as told in our authority is rather confused, and not fully preserved, but the *Sudhābhojana-jātaka*, the corresponding Pali story,[145] helps us to understand the whole birth-story.

The Mv. generally follows an independent way of its own with regard to the present occasion (*nidāna*) of the *jātaka*, and the *Mañjarī-jātaka* is no exception to this. The legend is meant to impress on the faithful the bashfulness of Yaśodharā. This story tells us of a brahmin anchorite in the Himālayas, who was notoriously stingy in character. Pañcaśikha, a former relative of Kauśika the brahmin was determined to reform his relative, with the help of Candra, Sūrya, Mātalī and Śakra. Disguised as brahmins, they arrive at the hermitage at lunchtime. The text is unfortunately interrupted at this point, and we are unable to comprehend what actually happened at the hermitage of Kauśika. Turning to the Sudhābhojana-jātaka we learn that all the five divine beings were relatives of Macchariya-kosiya, not a hermit, but a householder turned out to be a sheer miser. In this version, the man goes to the woods just for cooking some porridge and enjoying it alone, so that he might not waste money over a whim.[146] The persistent guests were invited, though reluctantly, to join him in relishing the dish; and Pañcaśikha, assuming the form of a dog at the point of serving the porridge, defiled the brahmin's hand with canine urine. Kosiya was forced to leave the pot alone and wash his polluted hand. Meanwhile, the 'dog' urinated into the pot of porridge also, thus depriving the miser of his selfishly guarded meal. The brahmin chases the dog, but Pañcaśikha assumes many different forms,[147] and the former, perplexed and tired, asked the gods to explain what all this meant.

The Pali *jātaka*, complete and unique in its own, concludes by stating that the purpose of the divine expedition was accomplished, the brahmin turning out to be generous and altruistic. But the Mv. makes it only a part of the main story which illustrates the bashful nature of Yaśodharā. The second part of the *jātaka*, dealing with the bunch of flowers brought by a sage

and the method of selecting the nymph who deserved it most is more important as far as the theme of the *jātaka* is concerned. Hence the name Mañjarī-jātaka. The four daughters of Śakra, namely, Śirī, Śraddhā, Āśā and Hirī come to Kauśika with a view to be chosen for sharing the nectar sent to him by Śakra. Hirī was chosen by the brahmin as the best among them, for her bashful attitude captivated his mind, just like Siddhārtha's mind was by Yaśodharā's shyness. The Pali tradition makes no reference to such an episode, nor do we find any other work corroborating our authority in this regard.

Jātakas on Māra

As Māra is considered in the Mv. to be the greatest opponent of the Buddha, it is but natural that the compilers dedicate a good number of *jātaka* tales to exemplify this enmity on the part of Māra. Out of the forty *jātakas* in our text, not less than ten have been employed to bring to light the malicious tricks of Māra played against the *bodhisattva* with the evil intention to hurt and harm the latter. In the Southern tradition, it is remarkable, there is hardly any story depicting a similar outlook regarding Māra. One cannot fail to notice the fact that the standpoint of the Pali authorities is entirely different in this regard. Māra is the sworn enemy of the Buddha since the time of Siddhārtha's renunciation, but not of the *bodhisattva* in his former births, still on the way of spiritual progress towards the Enlightenment.[148] The bitterest enemy of the *bodhisattva* in the Pali sources is Devadatta. In view of this general attitude of the two schools, it is not unintelligible how the authors of divergent traditions ascribed to the enemy of the *bodhisattva*, as known to them, any deed of adversity against the Great Being, found mentioned in legends of old. In the Southern tradition we find that almost all misfortunes befalling the *bodhisattva* are explained as caused by malicious incarnations of Devadatta, whereas in the works representing the Northern tradition, they are traced to the enmity of Māra.

The *Śakuntaka-jātaka*[149] presents the story of a wise bird which acquired its freedom from the grip of a hunter (Māra). The bird, caught by the hunter, pretended to be sick and abstained from taking more food than was necessary to keep alive. Gradually it won the trust of the hunter and, finding the awaited

opportunity presented itself, the discreet bird flew away. The JA. contains the corresponding Pali version in the form of *Vaṭṭaka-jātaka*,[150] but no attempt is made to identify the hunter. The general tendency in the Mv. is to recognize hunters as incarnations of Māra. In the following *jātakas* Māra is spoken of as having taken birth in the form of a florist, a crocodile, a hunter, a jackal, a water-demon, and a python, all of whom try to catch the *bodhisattva*, born in different humble states of existence, either for food or simply out of enmity.

The *Kacchapa-jātaka* tells us the story of a tortoise caught by a florist. He wanted to take home the poor creature for his evening soup,[151] but the tortoise, properly employing its *savoir faire*, slips into the water out of his flower basket. The fable assumes the form of a *jātaka* as the tortoise and the florist are identified as the *bodhisattva* and Māra respectively. Māra is depicted being befooled and ridiculed, though at the cost of the *bodhisattva*'s being relegated to the state of a cunning tortoise. What the story appears to establish is that even as a tortoise the *bodhisattva* could manage to work out his escape from Māra. In the Southern tradition we have no parallel story, but the AbhiS. and the JM. contain the *jātaka* in an identical form. The title, identification of main *rôles* and the *gāthās* are all in agreement with the Mv.[152] This would confirm that the story was taken from an ancient collection of *jātakas*, and it may be counted as yet another *jātaka* excluded from the JA.

Māra plays the *rôle* of a stupid crocodile in the *Markaṭa-jātaka*.[153] The story is particularly significant as its counterpart in the Pali tradition is also presented with a similar motif, *i.e.* to illustrate Devadatta's hateful attitude. The Pali tradition puts forward two distinct accounts corresponding to the Mv. *jātaka*, while the AbhiS. closely follows the Mv. in its version of this famous story.[154] Apart from minor variations, the story is preserved in its uniformity in different redactions. A female crocodile becomes jealous of a monkey and compels her infatuated husband to bring its heart to her. The Mv. recognizes the monkey and the crocodile as friends,[155] but the other versions make no mention of such an intimacy between the two. The crocodile, however, succeeded in coaxing the monkey to come down from its tree. Being tempted by the crocodile, the monkey sat on his back, and reached the middle of the river, whereat

the intention of the former was disclosed. Now the monkey, which was but an incarnation of the *bodhisattva*, outwits the perfidious crocodile by saying that his heart was left on a branch of the *jambu* tree, lest it be broken into pieces while jumping here and there. And the crocodile, may it be Māra or Devadatta, was easily deceived by the wise monkey, who returns to safety.[156]

In the following *jātaka* also we find one more illustration for the repeated statement that Māra never succeeded in his intrigues to entrap the *bodhisattva*. Māra in his birth as a hunter, as recounted in the *Śakuntaka-jātaka*,[157] spreads his net in order to catch the flock of birds led by the *bodhisattva*. But the sagacious bird is far from falling at the mercy of the cruel hunter. This *jātaka*, along with the two *jātakas* of the bull (Vṛṣabha) and the monkey (Vānara)[158] has no parallel in the Pali tradition. This short *jātaka* of the elusive bird finds a place in the AbhiS.; but in that text the story involves only one bird, *viz.* the *bodhisattva*.[159]

In the *Vṛṣabha-jātaka*, Māra is led to frustration in pursuing the *bodhisattva*, born as a bull, and in the *jātaka* of the monkey we find how the bodhisattva in the form of a monkey escapes even after falling into the mouth of Māra who was at that time a python in a Himālayan lake. The monkey, like the tortoise in the *Kacchapa-jātaka*, resorted to the self-defence. The point seems to throw some light on the practical side of Buddhist ethics. It is not precluded that the disciplinary mores and ethical norms, however strict they may be under normal conditions, might be infringed in extraordinary circumstances. The Pali tradition is also full of stories wherein the reader may detect the *bodhisattva* obliged by circumstances deviating slightly from absolute honesty and virtue, sometimes extending to killing the enemy.

There is another *Vānara-jātaka*,[160] in which the *bodhisattva* defies a water-demon. The Great Being was born as a monkey and Māra, a water-demon (*udaka-rākṣasa*). The monkeys led by the *bodhisattva* drink water through the pores of bamboo-sticks and Māra is rendered incapable of seizing and devouring them. The Pali tradition knows the story by the name *Nalakapāna-jātaka*.[161] That the story must have left a strong impression on the minds of the faithful is conjectured from the statement that

the bamboo-sticks of this particular grove are to be found without knotty joints throughout the present aeon.[162]

The *Kuśa-jātaka* is the finest and most extensive birthstory of the Mv. collection of such stories. In the JA. it is not counted among the 'great stories' and is even shorter than the Mv. version.[163] In the Mv. the narrative begins with the legend connected with the origin of Ikṣvāku, which is not known to the Southern tradition. The fantastic love of ugly Kuśa for charming Sudarśanā (Pali. Pabhāvatī) is vividly painted in both versions. The romantic love affair of the uncompromising prince is portrayed in the MSV. also in a similar poetic tone.[164]

It will require a lengthy discussion to bring to light all the similarities and contradictions between the Mv. and the Pali redaction of this lovely romance followed by the MSV., and we shall here notice just a few important aspects of the story as told in the tradition. The Pali *jātaka* opens with a direct reference to Okkāka's sending forth his harem for indiscriminate carnal indulgence with the populace, as a means to obtain a son, but it was suggested not by the *purohita* as in our text, but by the people themselves. The MSV. makes no mention of the king's unprecedented device, but acknowledges that Kuśa was born through the kind intervention of Śakra. As for the Mv. and Pali versions which seem to more or less claim a common origin, they both hold that Indra or Śakra sponsored himself to help the distressed king; but the differences are too manifest to be overlooked. Our text represents Ikṣvāku first declining to give the chief queen (Alindā) to the decrepit brahmin, and Alindā herself not caressing him affectionately. Moreover, Kuśa, born with four hundred and ninety-nine brothers, received no love from his father. The Pali authority hints at a different state of affairs as it elaborates how Śakra took the chief-queen (Sīlavatī) to heaven.[165] Following this version, Kuśa had only one brother and had no obstacle created by his father against his ascending the throne, a situation which made those interesting riddles out of place which were put forward by Kuśa's father in order to know who the most intelligent among his sons was.[166] According to the MSV., it was only after Kuśa won a battle that his father favoured him.

All the three redactions admit as a matter of fact that Kuśa was very ugly and repulsive to look at.[167] The phenomenon

was a top secret best guarded from his wife, and she naturally became curious to see her husband face to face. But in the Pali version, it is Kuśa who repeatedly desires to look at Pabhāvatī, and the visits to the elephant-stall and the horse-stable were arranged with the sole purpose of appeasing this desire.[168] The next time Pabhāvatī also insisted on seeing her husband, and Jayampati, Kuśa's younger brother was shown to her in place of Kuśa. As in the Mv., Kuśa appears in the picture standing behind his younger brother, and attracted her attention as a peculiar personality, but mainly because of that he mocked and mimicked at his wife, being deceived in the highest degree. The princess begins to suspect from that moment on, and the secret was disclosed when he suddenly emerged from the hidden place in the lotus pond and grabbed her hand.[169] In the Mv. it was on the occasion of the sudden fire in the elephant-stall that she found out the truth,[170] whereas the MSV. tells us that she discovered the secret by means of a lamp hidden in the bed-chamber.[171]

Kuśa's following her up to Sāgala or Kānyakubja and the menial works he had to do for winning her are similarly described in all versions, but the Pali *jātaka* adds an extra feature, showing the princess' subconscious love and appreciation for the valiant king. Kuśa once pretended to slip down on the floor and swoon away while carrying a load of victuals out of the dining hall. Pabhāvatī ran to his help, and gave evidence of her subliminal love and affection for the suffering king.[172] The course of their union is also similar in all versions, despite the minor modifications such as that in the JA. Śakra is called to intervene and bring the arrogant princess to terms. Kuśa happily gains Sudarśanā (or Pabhāvatī) at last, and returns to his own city. The tradition is unanimous as to the fact that Kuśa was transformed into a very handsome personality, a special boon bestowed on him by Śakra. But different authorities vary regarding the exact nature of Śakra's gift which made him comely and attractive. Our text says that it was the central jewel of Śakra's necklace (*jyotirasa*), whereas the JA. maintains that it was a magic gem called *verocana*.[173] The MSV. speaks of a priceless jewel called *cūḍāmaṇi*.[174]

The Pali tradition differs, as usual, in identification of characters; and the JA. agrees with the Mv. regarding the *rôles* of Kuśa

and Pabhāvatī (the *bodhisattva* and Yaśodharā) only. The Mv. reference to Māra is rather forcible and out of place, for it is evidently based merely on the feeble resemblance between the defeat of seven kings by Kuśa's shouting and Māra's defeat by the sound of the *bodhisattva*'s cough (*ukkāsana*).[175]

The *Dharmalabdha-jātaka*[176] is also to be counted among the birthstories which elaborate Māra's enmity. This *jātaka* is the only instance in the Mv. wherein appear the daughters of Māra, intent upon alluring and destroying the *bodhisattva*. In the Pali tradition we find no single *jātaka* bearing a compatible character. In this *jātaka* we are to visualize the dismal picture of the dreadful ogresses who used to distract the merchants passing through the regions haunted by them. Dharmalabdha, the *bodhisattva*, crosses these danger zones and always manages to return without a scar. Although the *Telapatta-jātaka* in the JA.[177] does correspond to this fabulous tale as found in the Mv., yet the purpose and theme of the Pali version are entirely different. No mention is made of Māra's daughters, despite the fact that the Southern recast of this popular folktale closely agrees with the Mv. version as to the ogress' following the prince (*bodhisattva*) going to Takṣaśilā. It should however, be noted that the *Pañcagaruka-jātaka* of the JA.[178] indicates a parallel tendency regarding the legendary aspect of the concept of Evil. The introductory part of this isolated *jātaka* refers to the defeat of Māra's daughters, and the hero of the past story, a prince of Banaras who carefully saved himself from the traps of ogresses, is identified as the *bodhisattva*. But in this *jātaka* also, the ogresses are not identified with Māra's daughters. It also seems remarkable that the AbhiS. does not record the story in any form, though it refers to the defeat of Māra's daughters.

It thus becomes clear that the Mv. has been particularly keen to illustrate Māra's attempts to injure the *bodhisattva*. Taking into account all stories forwarded as proof of the enmity of Māra, it becomes evident that the Evil One of the Mv. *jātakas*, subject to the law of transmigration, plays the *rôle* that is attributed to Devadatta in the Pali tradition. There is however a significant difference between the approaches of the two Schools as we find them; the Northern tradition represented in works like the AbhiS. and the Mv. on the one hand and the Southern tradition as preserved in the JA. on the other. Māra in the Mv.

and the AbhiS. always fails in his wicked efforts to harm the *bodhisattva*, whereas Devadatta in the Jātaka Commentary succeeds in most cases and actually inflicts various tortures on him. That Māra never succeeded in his attacks throughout the Buddha's career is as much acceptable to the Theravādins as to the Mahāyānists, but they never hesitate to admit that Devadatta succeeded where Māra failed, when it becomes a question of causing physical harm to the Great Being. Does it imply that the attacks of Devadatta were more serious and concrete than those of Māra ? The Milinda[179] tries to explain how Devadatta could exceed the *bodhisattva* in power, but scarcely provides a solid justification that would satisfy a critical reader.

Jātakas on Other Subjects

A few *jātakas* of our authority deal with a number of individuals who were converted to the Buddhist faith and some other topics which were considered to require illustrations. In this subsection we shall treat those *jātakas*.

The *Kāka-jātaka*[180] involves a previous existence of Udāyī, who played the most important *rôle* on the Tathāgata's first visit to Kapilavastu. His contribution in regard of the warm reception to the Buddha in the Śākyan city, particularly his providing the Master with meals throughout the journey, led the Enlightened One to compare him to the wise and gallant minister of the crow-king Supātra, who brought food from a royal kitchen for the crow-queen. The AbhiS. also follows the Mv. in presenting this *jātaka*,[181] but in the Pali tradition the story is narrated in praise of Śārīputra who once brought medicated food for Bimbādevī.[182] The two versions bear the usual interesting variations. The crow-queen in the Pali *Supatta-jātaka* developed a strong desire for royal food after smelling its flavour while flying over the palace, and the wise crow succeeded only once in snatching away some food. It helps the realistic flow of the story better than the Mv. and the AbhiS. exaggeration wherein we are led to believe that the whole court was at a loss to prevent a single crow which repeats its mischief many times. As far as the identification of the crow-minister is concerned, both the traditions are equally reasonable, as Śārīputra, too,

like Kālodāyin, is said to have brought a quality of food that was not easily available for the Community.

The *Gaṅgapāla-jātaka*[183] reflects the Buddhist attitude concerning the conventional theory of caste and its relation to formal obeisance. It need hardly be stated that disparities on the basis of caste are not allowed in the Fraternity, and a 'high-caste' layman was supposed to salute even those members of the saṃgha who had no claim to a high birth. It was on this ground that Upāli the barber, now a Buddhist monk, was saluted by Śuddhodana. When the courtiers were disgruntled about the matter and objected to Upāli calling Śuddhodana by name, the Buddha forwarded this *jātaka* as an example of the good and proper relationship between the clergy and laity. The story is found in the AbhiS. and the JA. also.[184] The narrative begins in the Mv. and the AbhiS. versions with the elaboration of how a poor lad acquired a great store of merit by offering a coarse meal to a Pratyeka-buddha. According to the Pali *jātaka*, the meritorious deed of the boy was that he observed moral precepts at the cost of his life. The poor boy was thereby reborn as the son of the king of Banaras.[185] But the Mv. and the AbhiS. speak of two relatives or friends, who perform the act of merit in collaboration. These sources try to establish that Upaka the *brāhmaṇa*, an important character in the story, and the King had a close relationship in their previous existence, and both of them performed the meritorious deed together. But this involves a serious difficulty for the brahmin, as admitted in the story, was poor, and even a single half-penny (*pāda*) was a big treasure for him. If the king and Upaka were equally partners in the act of merit, how was the latter born in a poor family? The AbhiS. explains that he specially prayed to be born as a learned brahmin,[186] and the Mv. tells us that he belonged to the family of the purohita.[187] The Pali tradition poses no difficulty in this direction, as it represents the king alone acquiring the merit, but the phenomenon that the king was so affectionate towards Upaka, a complete stranger, becomes inexplicable in that version. That there must have been a subtle confusion and interchange of stories is evidenced by the fact that the Pali *jātaka* incidentally refers to the *Kulmāṣapiṇḍa-jātaka*,[188] in which a similar offering of *kulmāṣa* is made by a poor fellow to Pratyeka-buddhas, and the donor is reborn in the royal family of Banaras. The JM. records

a separate *Kulmāṣapiṇḍa-jātaka*[189] which knows nothing about what has become the central theme of the *Gaṅgamāla-jātaka*. The Av. Kalp. also records an abridged form of this story, as told by the Buddha on his visit to Kapilavastu.[190]

According to the Pali story, the man whom the king was so fond of was a water-carrier. In the Mv. Upaka's *fiancée* is called a slave girl carrying water (*kumbha-dāsī*), and the Av.Kalp. also seems to support this.[191] But the AbhiS. makes the couple of pure *brāhmaṇa* caste. As to sharing the kingdom all versions are unanimous, and the JA. adds the humorous remark that the man chose the northern part of the kingdom, for his half-penny was hidden in that region !

The theme of the *jātaka* is, however, not exactly compatible in the two traditions. The JA. also relates how the king saluted the low-born Gaṅgamāla, and records his explanation in similar verses.[192] But Gaṅgapāla in the Pali *jātaka* became a Pratyekabuddha, and the story is introduced in praise of the keeping of the weekly holy days (*uposatha*). In the Av.Kalp. we find the story in a form closer to the Southern version, but following the Mv. as regards the literary motive. Āryaśūra has not connected the story with Upāli's ordination at all, and he gives the story as an illustration of the Perfection of charity.[193]

Another story tells how the *bodhisattva*, born as a white horse, rescued five hundred merchants from an island haunted by sirens.[194] The five hundred merchants are identified as the group of monks headed by Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, but the *jātaka* has no title in the Mv. In the JA. this tale is given under the name of *Valāhassa-jātaka*.[195] The Pali jātaka does not allude to the two great disciples' having any connection with this particular story, but there is a curious remark which indicates that the Mv. and the AbhiS. are not entirely baseless in regard to the preamble of the *jātaka*. The Mv. holds that the Great Disciples brought with them the five hundred students of Sañjaya; and accordingly the story speaks of five hundred merchants having been saved by the *bodhisattva*. Now the Pali tradition records that they could bring only two hundred and fifty, the rest having remained with Sañjaya.[196] In the *Valāhassa-jātaka*, though there is no reference to the chief disciples or their followers, the horse could save only two hundred and fifty, the rest being tempted by the sirens and left in the island.

And the two hundred and fifty merchants who had faith in the horse are identified as the followers of the Enlightened One (*buddha-parisā*). The point is significant, although the Southern version of the *jātaka* does not otherwise support the Mv. comparison.[197]

As for the identification of the horse, the hero of the story, there seems to have been a considerable diversity of opinion among the schools of tradition. We need not tarry over the obvious phenomenon that the compilers of various traditions were free to identify the characters to suit their theme, and suffice it to remember here that the horse has been identified as the *bodhisattva*,[198] Maitreya,[199] and Aśvajit or Avalokiteśvara.[200]

There are two *jātakas* on Ajñāta-kauṇḍinya and the five monks.[201] In these *jātakas* the *bodhisattva* is represented as sacrificing himself for their sake. There are many tales in the Pali collection of *jātakas* illustrating the *bodhisattva*'s self-sacrificing character, but none of them implies that it was for the sake of a particular disciple that he performed such great sacrifices.

Accounts of the conversion of Bimbisāra are contained in the *Arindama-jātaka*, the introduction of which tells us that the story is meant to elaborate how the king in one of his former lives also rewarded the purohita for giving information about the *bodhisattva*.[202] In the JA. we have *Soṇaka-jātaka*, closely resembling the Mv. story, but concerning the Perfection of Renunciation.[203] The Mv. compilers were not interested, as stated above, in illustrating *pāramitās*, and the purport of the *jātaka* was naturally overlooked, although the text extols the Renunciation in some beautiful lines probably found in the original tradition.[204] Arindama, a previous incarnation of Bimbisāra, was the king of Mithilā in the episode we come across in this *jātaka*. Śroṇaka, his friend, became a mighty sage in the Himālayas, and returned after a long time (*dirghasya adhvano atyayena*) with the view to convert the king to the religious life.[205] The sage is identified in our text as the *bodhisattva*, but in the Pali version Soṇaka becomes a Pratyeka-buddha, and Arindama, king of Banaras, is regarded as the *bodhisattva*. The Mv. version embodies a long description of hells, which is not found in the Pali account of this *jātaka*.[206]

Animal characters have usually been an effective medium of instruction. In Sanskrit literature we have the *Pañcatantra*,

often cited as the best collection of stories of this kind. *Jātaka* stories, derived from the ancient folk-tales, in some cases betray a definite trend in this direction. In the story of the three birds[207] we find how three birds enlightened a king on the basic principles of politics. It is certainly one of the few Buddhist stories which seek to instruct the rulers in matters of administration. The *Tesakuṇa-jātaka*,[208] the Pali counterpart of the Mv. *jātaka*, is referred to in some other *jātakas* as an ideal source of instruction in this regard. Our compilers favour this story as the first *jātaka* in the Mv., a fact that gives weight to its significance as a peculiar specimen of fables.

The two versions bear certain independent variations, though they are not wholly uncompromising. According to the Mv. the *jātaka* was told by the Exalted One in the presence of the Licchavis on his visit to Vaiśālī; and the story supposedly purports to prove only that birds used to speak human language in ancient times also. The Pali version opines, and more convincingly, of course, that the *jātaka* was related by the Buddha at Jetavana by way of satisfying the Kosala king's request.

The minor differences detectable between the two versions are not very important. The king in the Pali *jātaka*, for example, does not visit the Himālayan ascetics, but finds the three eggs in the royal garden. To consult the learned religieux regarding the problem of being childless was but natural in ancient India, and our own authority elaborates how old Ikṣvāku sought advice of his purohita in a similar predicament. But the Pali tradition generally omits such references. A striking point to be noticed in this context is that the Buddhists try to link the misery of being without offspring with the concept of non-violence, particularly regarding birds. Some persons are said to have been childless as a punishment for committing the sinful act of killing birds in a previous life.[209] The Pali *Tesakuṇa-jātaka* elaborates on how the king treated the three birds as his own sons.

The most important part of the story is the instructive lectures delivered by the three birds. The Mv. and the JA. agree to a great extent in this regard, but in the Pali version we find them in a more lengthy form. As to the identification of characters, the two texts agree only about the parrot, *i.e.* the *bodhisattva*.

Another story of our text[210] deals with the origin of the name

mṛgadāya. It is apparently not presented as a *jātaka*, at least from the viewpoint of the formal presentation, since the beginning and the conclusion bear no characteristic marks of a *jātaka* tale. But the story is none other than the *Nigrodhamiga-jātaka* of the JA.[211] The Pali *jātaka* is told by the Master with regard to the dramatic incident of Kumāra-kassapa and his mother, a certain nun in the group of Devadatta who, being pregnant, was left in the lurch. The story depicts the noble character of the beautiful deer-king which offered itself at the royal kitchen in order to save a pregnant deer belonging to another herd led by his rival.

The Pali narrative is silent on the origin of *mṛgadāya*, and holds that the deer-king obtained security for the whole animal world. The Mv. account abruptly concludes as soon as the term *mṛgadāya* was defined, whereas the Pali version further features how the deer-king took measures to protect the crops against destructive animals. The *gāthā* of the *jātaka* is the same in both versions,[212] although in our text it is only a praise of Nigrodha, the deer-king. The JP. gives it in the form of advice to the infant deer, obviously alluding to Kumāra-kassapa, the son of the nun, who later became a leading disciple of the Buddha.

A short *jātaka* is forwarded in the Mv. by way of inculcating that the monks on their alms-begging should not resort to verbal begging. The title of this exemplary story is known to our compilers as *Asthisena-jātaka*,[213] and it is quite in harmony with the *Atthisena-jātaka* of the JA.[214] The story, very short and simple, presents the unsophisticated picture of a self-denying ascetic who did not venture to ask for anything even after he was assured to be given whatever he wished. But the Mv. is very brief and preserves only the *gāthās*, which are fully identical with the Pali parallel.[215] The *jātaka* is of particular significance for us, as it deals with a disciplinary point, the avowed subject-matter of the Mv. being the exposition of the Vinaya.

The rest of the Mv. *jātakas* which are called as such but not to be precisely included in the *jātaka* stories proper, are discussed in the following section.

SECTION *III*

Legend And History

(*A*) *Legends*

The importance of the Mv. as a collection of legends has been fully recognized by scholars who have studied the work from the literary point of view. The Mv. deserves, of course, to be described as the repository of a rich variety of legends, including those pertaining to the Buddha's life-story. But we are here concerned with just a few stories of legendary character, as the majority of these narratives, related to the Buddha's career, are dealt with in the third Chapter.

The story of Megha and Meghadatta[216] seem to have formed an integral part of the collection of legends in the ancient Buddhist tradition. In course of the development of the idea of past Buddhas,[217] the tradition adopted a long list of predecessors in the line of Śākyamuni the Buddha; and Dīpaṅkara was one of the ancient Buddhas conceived at a comparatively earlier stage of the tradition as his name invariably finds place in such lists of the former Buddhas preserved in different sources.[218]

The story gives the account of the *bodhisattva* who was born as Megha the brahmin at the time of Dīpaṅkara the Buddha, and that of Meghadatta, his friend. Megha received from Dīpaṅkara the Buddha a formal proclamation that he would attain Enlightenment in future, whereas Meghadatta, who turned out to be a great sinner, was condemned to hell. The legend relates how Megha, who had just completed his studies, met Dīpaṅkara the Buddha on the road, and how he expressed his great devotion towards the latter by offering him a bunch of flowers, purchased at a high prize.

Now the story of the *bodhisattva*'s being proclaimed by Dīpaṅkara the Buddha is recorded in some other forms of the tradition as well, and these divergent versions of his prediction are not devoid of interesting variations. In the Southern form of the story, the *bodhisattva*'s name is Sumedha,[219] and he was an ascetic endowed with supernatural powers. In the Divy. it is Sumati the brahmin who obtains the proclamation,[220] and his story is recounted in detail. The AbhiS. also refers to the legend, but does not give the name of the *bodhisattva*. Comparing the

different versions of this ancient legend, we may presume that the story was known in two forms. One version maintained that Megha or Sumati offered flowers purchased from a girl at a very high prize,[221] whereas the other version, adopted by the authorities and the AbhiS. holds that the *bodhisattva* lay himself as a bridge for Dīpaṅkara the Buddha to cross a muddy spot.[222] Fa-hien saw at Nagarahāra a *stūpa* built on the spot where the *bodhisattva* bought flowers from the girl,[223] but Hieuen Tsiang in the seventh century was led to a place in the same locality which was supposed to be the spot where the *bodhisattva* spread out his deer-skin doublet (*ajina*) and covered the muddy road with his body.[224] The Mv. also demonstrates, however, its acquaintance with this legendary feature of spreading the deer-skin doublet (*ajina*).[225] On the other hand, we find the Southern tradition elaborating how Dīpaṅkara the Buddha himself paid homage to the *bodhisattva* by offering him eight handfuls of flowers and circumambulating him.[226]

The story of Dharmaruci (Meghadatta) is given in our text as a part of the same legend. Dharmaruci, a disciple of the Buddha was an associate of Megha. The Pali counterpart of the story, as recorded in the Apadāna-pāli, tells us that his name was Megha, which seems to be the result of a confusion of names. This man did not follow his noble companion, the *bodhisattva*, and let himself be led astray by passion and folly. Committing all the five deadly sins (*ānantarya*), he was doomed to hell where he had been undergoing torture and suffering for many immeasurable world periods (*kalpa*).[227] He was later born, the story continues, as a leviathan (*timi-timiṅgala*) in the sea when Megha, his former companion, was born in his final existence as Gautama the Buddha. Once this sea monster happened to listen to the word *buddha*; and act of merit which eventually led it to be born in a reputable family in Śrāvastī. Afterwards he became a disciple of the Buddha.

Different versions of this legend are preserved in the Divy., the Av. Kalp., and the Ap. The Sanskrit forms of the tale present many details, and the history of Dharmaruci is traced back further beyond Dīpaṅkara the Buddha. In the Ap. he is seen committing only one of the five *ānantarya* sins, whereas the Divy. and the Av.Kalp. speak of three sins of this category committed by him during the dispensation of Krakucchanda

the Buddha.[228] Our text deliberately adds the two other sinful acts of *ānantarya*, *viz.* shedding blood from the Buddha's body and causing schism in the *saṃgha*, probably by way of illustrating the five heinous crimes. All versions are unanimous on the point that he had been born as a sea monster, after getting released from hell. One of the sculptures at Bharhut has been identified by Cunningham as representing this birth of Dharmaruci.[229]

The Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī may be treated as a fine specimen of the legendary accounts embodied in the Mv.[230] The account incorporates three *jātaka* stories, and another story of *avadāna* character, elucidating the Buddha's meritorious deed in one of his anterior births by virtue of which he received such great honour on the occasion.[231] The account was particularly attractive for our compilers, as we have already noticed, for its imaginative aspects which could successfully be employed as a vehicle for glorifying the Buddha's unequal career. The account is no doubt based on a historical event. From Pali sources we learn that the Buddha undertook this celebrated visit in the fifth year of his Enlightenment. The background of this visit was the epidemic and famine which struck the prosperous city of Vaiśālī, and the accounts in the Mv. as well as in the Pali works are unanimous that the Buddha's visit brought back prosperity and happiness to the devastated city by repelling those disastrous elements. But the compilers of our text seem to take delight in magnifying the formal honour and respect received by the Buddha all the way to Vaiśālī from Rajagṛha. The narrative provides sufficient details about the prosperity of the Licchavis and their great devotion towards the Buddha, and refers to the gift of Āmrapālī. But above all it lays stress on the Buddha's image as the World-Honoured One, deserving and enjoying extreme devotion and respect of human and superhuman beings.

The legend of Mālinī[232] precedes the story of Ghaṭikāra.[233] Both stories are connected with Kāśyapa the Buddha, and his contemporary king whose name is well-known to the tradition as Kṛkin (Pali. Kikī). Mālinī was the daughter of King Kṛkin. She became an ardent devotee of Kāśyapa the Buddha whereby she exposed herself to the indignation of brahmins. The story tells us how brahmins wanted to do away with Mālinī

and how they forced the king to order her execution. But she managed to obtain the consent of brahmins and the king to postpone the execution for seven days, during which time she adored and served the Buddha and his disciples, who in their turn converted the whole court; Mālinī thus checkmating the callous brahmins. King Kṛkin is a well-known figure in the stories related with Kāśyapa the Buddha.[234] The Pali commentary to the Thig. speaks of seven daughters of Kikī,[235] but Mālinī is not found among them. The Pali tradition, however, preserves the legend in its substance, which agrees with the Mv. version to a great extent.[236] Mālinī's counterpart in the Pali story is Uracchadā, and the brahmins, though irritated by her favourable attitude towards the Buddha, according to that form of the legend, waited to revenge themselves on her till the king returned from a military expedition. The Mv. narrative is full of anti-*brāhmaṇic* expressions, and bears out its being compiled at a time when the antagonistic attitude between Buddhist monks and brahmins was beginning to reverberate in the field of literature.

One of the most enlivened legends in our text elaborates the beautiful friendship that existed between Kāśyapa the Buddha and Ghaṭīkāra the potter. The Pali version of this famous story, and a reference found in the MSV.[237] testify to the fact that the compilers borrowed it from the Madhyamāgama. The popularity of the Ghaṭīkāra legend is intelligible as the narrative serves as a fine tableau where the ideal relationship between the *saṃgha* and the laity is painted. Kāśyapa the Buddha is seen thankfully refusing the invitation of the king of Banaras, saying that he has already consented to receive the potter's hospitality throughout the Lent (*varṣāvāsa*). Once the Buddha himself had to have meals at the potter's house, all alone and helping himself, Ghaṭīkāra being absent and his blind parents being unable to wait upon the Buddha. At another time the Buddha ordered his monks, on the occasion of a heavy rain, to bring some thatch from the potter's newly thatched roof, while the latter was away, and he was elated to see what had happened in his absence as this meant for him a sign of the closest intimacy vouchsafed by the Buddha. The Pali commentaries reveal how the devouts were led to

believe that rain would not fall throughout the present aeon on the spot where the potter's shed stood.[238]

The story is all the more significant for its connection with the bodhisattva incarnated as Jyotipāla (Pali. Jotipāla). It was in this existence, as admitted by different schools, that he completed his career as the *bodhisattva* and was proclaimed by Kāśyapa the Buddha to become Gautama Śākyamuni.

And finally we may draw attention to the famous narrative relating to the genesis of the world. The last section of the first volume of the text (Senart's edition)[239] acquaints us with the Buddhist explanation of the origin and evolution of the world. We can imagine how the world emerged from the nebulous mass sunk in darkness at the beginning of the world-period of evolution (*vivartakalpa*). First of all the earth takes shape out of the liquid state, and then appear, in the course of transformation, time, light and darkness. Next begins the gradual manifestation and evolution of vegetation. The legend describes in detail how acquisition of private property gave rise to crime and immorality, thus in turn necessitating Law and State.[240] This part is entirely identical with the similar descriptions found in other sources, and, though reminiscent of Purāṇic style, as observed by Winternitz,[241] claims to authenticate the Buddhist theory of evolution which is in direct contrast with the Brāhmaṇic theory of creation.

The second part of the legend deals with the genealogical history of the Śākyan clan. The Buddha's family line is traced back to Mahāsammata, the very first king of the world. It also presents the traditional explanation of the names Śākya and Koliya, based on the legendary story of the five princes banished from their kingdom. The story seems to be the adopted form of a well-known folkstory,[242] but the points that the name Śākya is derived from the word *śaka* signifying a kind of tree and that the practice of sister-marriage had been prevalent among the Śākyans seem not to be wholly fictitious in character.[243]

(*B*) *Persons*

Śāriputra and Mahā-maudgalyāyana

The ancient Buddhist annals are unanimous that Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana (often referred to with the honorific

prefix 'mahā') were close associates. Our authority is in agreement with the other treatises belonging to different schools with regard to the image it presents concerning the two chief disciples.

The Mv. locates the native place of Śārīputra at the distance of half a *yojana* from Rājagṛha.[244] The name of this brahmin village is known to us from our text as Nālanda-grāma. The Northern tradition supports the Mv. as the works belonging to that school call it Nālada-grāma,[245] or Śrī Nālandā,[246] but the Southern School refers to it by the name Upatissa-gāma, apparently having been led astray by the deceptive point that the native place of Maudgalyāyana bore the name Kolita-gāma.[247] Taking into account the fact that the personal name of Maudgalyāyana was Kolita,[248] connected with the appellation of his village, it becomes clear that the Pali commentators derived this name from Śārīputra's personal name, *i.e.* Upatiṣya (Pali. Upatissa). The Mv. frequently adopts the name Kolita instead of the more well-known name Maudgalyāyana, but generally retains the name Śārīputra[249] and only rarely uses his personal name, *i.e.* Upatiṣya.[250]

Śārīputra, also called Śāradvatī-putra, Śārīsuta, and Sārisambhava,[251] received his celebrated name from that of his mother, Śārī[252] or Rūpasārī.[253] His father's name is apparently a creation of compilers, as we find three names at least.[254] From what has been recorded in various annals about his family we may learn that Śārīputra had a number of brothers and sisters; and that the family was rich and highly reputable. The Mv. states that Upatiṣya was the youngest,[255] having six elder brothers whose names are given as Dharma, Upadharma, Śatadharma, Sahasradharma, and Tiṣya.[256] The Pali authorities speak of three brothers and three sisters, all of whom later became *arhats*.[257]

Kolita and Upatiṣya were classmates in the gurukula and had always been very close friends. The Southern sources make no mention of their studies, but emphasise their unique intimacy by holding that they were even conceived simultaneously.[258] At the annual function of *giriyagra-samāja* they became so disgusted and frustrated that both of them decided to renounce the home life. The strong apathy and depression that they equally shared at the festival are described in almost

identical words in all accounts handed down by different schools, and the dogmatic explanation of the phenomenon put forward by our expounders is that the indifference towards entertaining festivities was a matter of innate character for them, as both of them had been passing through their last existence (*sakuśala-mūla-puṇyā vara-parittagṛhā; kṛtādhikārā purimakeṣu samyak-sambuddheṣu...uptasatyādhikārā chinnabandhanā bhavyotpattikā*).[259] Considering the psychological tendencies of the contemporary youth, however, it is no wonder that two erudite young men turned out to be admirers of asceticism. As for Śārīputra, we may be sure that his propensity to the religious mode of thinking was partly a family heritage, as evidenced by the fact that all his brothers and sisters later joined the monastic order. The AbhiS. informs us that a sister of Śārīputra had already become a recluse in the Parivrājaka order.[260] The Pali narratives reveal that his mother was a staunch adherent of Brahmanism and that Śārīputra could convert her to the new faith only at his death-bed.[261] The Av. records how Śārī defeated Dīrghanakha, her brother, in a religious debate.[262] With this family background, it was but natural that Śārīputra should be inclined to entertain a spiritual outlook.

The conversion of Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana is found faithfully recorded in various works, and the account seems to be authentic and coherent so far as these different forms of the tradition are concerned. The two friends approached Sañjaya, a distinguished teacher who lived in Rājagṛha, and joined his seminary (*parivrājakārāma*), but only to find soon that his teaching was inadequate to satisfy their inexhaustible quest for truth. In our text we find them engaged in studies under Sañjaya at least for nearly one month,[263] but the AbhiS. reduces the period to a single week.[264] Dissatisfied but not discouraged, they determined to go it alone in the search for the *summum bonum*, and dissociated themselves from the religious organizations of the day. The tradition is unanimous on the point that Śārīputra happened to meet a disciple of the Buddha, begging for his alms in the city street, and pleased by the serene deportment of that disciple, he approached him and learned about the Master and his Teaching. Our authority identifies this disciple as Upasena, the nephew of Uruvilvā-kāśyapa.[265] The Southern School is unequivocal that it was Assaji, one

of the five monks (*pañca-vaggiya*) of Ṛṣipatana,[266] and commentaries extol how Śārīputra venerated Assaji (Aśvajit) as his preceptor.[267] The AbhiS. seems to have been aware of both traditions as it informs us that Mahāsāṅghikas held this important disciple to be Upasena whereas other schools maintained that it was Aśvajit.[268] Attention may be drawn to the fact that all accounts describing Śārīputra's first meeting with the great disciple agree that the latter expressed his inability to expound the doctrine at length.[269] The Pali commentator's interpretation of this statement is that Assaji deliberately said so, in order to emphasize the profound and abstruse character of the doctrine,[270] but the phrase 'newly ordained' (*acirapabbajito*) appears to be more fitting to Upasena, who joined the Order just before the Buddha's arrival in Rājagṛha than to Aśvajit who was one of the earliest disciples of the Buddha.

Śārīputra has been recognized as the pre-eminent disciple in wisdom, and he is unanimously said to have possessed a very quick intuition. Hearing the famous stanza regarding the Law of Causation,[271] he obtained insight and then went to his companion, Maudgalyāyana, who also attained the initial stage of the path of deliverance after listening to the formula. Then they approached the Buddha, not alone but with a considerable following. We have two distinct views regarding the number of these followers and their origin. From the Pali sources we learn that they brought two hundred and fifty ascetics, who were close associates of theirs, but living at the seminary of Sañjaya.[272] The Mv. followed by the AbhiS. on the other hand states that they brought with them all the five hundred students of their former teacher.[273]

The Buddha assigned a high importance to their conversion, as they were the first ever to join the Fraternity, coming from the religious community of any of the six leading teachers of the time. He declared them to be his chief-disciples (*agrayuga, bhadrayuga*). Some members of the *saṃgha* did, as the Southern tradition tells us, murmur over this bold act of the Master, as they thought it embarrassing that the Buddha should give prominence to new-comers over the more renowned and older disciples,[274] but Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana proved by their subsequent actions that the Tathāgata was right in

his selection. The tradition justifies this step by stating that these two disciples had resolved to become the chief disciples of an Enlightened One many incalculable periods ago.[275]

As Śārīputra was pre-eminent among those who were distinguished in wisdom, so was Maudgalyāyana among those who were leading in supernatural powers.[276] But it may be pointed out, to the credit of Buddhist thought, that between the two, it was Śārīputra, the chief representative of wisdom, that is always recognized to be the superior. He is honoured by the tradition as the Commander-in-Chief of the noble Dispensation (*dhamma-senāpati*), inferior only to the Buddha in wisdom.[277] The Gilgit Manuscripts[278] preserve a story in which we find Śārīputra surpassing Maudgalyāyana in miraculous performances although the latter's position as the best authority in supernatural achievements is not challenged. But the Buddha, as the tradition conceived, was exceptionally supreme above his disciples in all matters. The Divy. elaborates how the Buddha covered within a moment the inconceivably long distance of a space-journey which Maudgalyāyana took a week to cover.[279] Śārīputra, chief among the wisest, had no knowledge of individual dispositions and proclivities (*āśaya-anuśaya-jñāna*) and was sometimes at a loss to give proper instructions regarding meditation (*karmasthāna*), which the Buddha easily did.[280]

Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana maintained an exemplary friendship[281] throughout their life till death did them part. Whenever the former fell ill, the latter would nurse and wait upon him, and provide the necessary medicines and nourishments. They used to praise each other for their respective superhuman qualities, and the Buddha himself advised monks to regard the chief disciples as their ideal.[282] The Pali canon contains a number of discourses delivered by the great disciple Śārīputra, which were subsequently applauded by the Master.[283] In the scholastic treatises of different schools there are plenty of instances elucidating Maudgalyāyana's miraculous powers.[284]

Maudgalyāyana was specially remarkable for his characteristic visits to hells and heavens,[285] the vivid picture of which may have attracted the propagators from a very early stage of Buddhism as an effective medium of inculcating ethical points. On his returning from these planes Maudgalyāyana would

describe what he witnessed there, and exhort people to practise good and abstain from evil. This must have made him popular as an influential preacher, and this particular point proved, informs the tradition, to be the fatal cause of his tragic end. Authorities would have us believe that the heretical elements, annoyed to see the growing popularity of Buddhism, more so because of Maudgalyāyana's unprecedented method of exhortation, bribed some miscreants to beat him to death. Although our text is silent about the last days of these two great figures, we find in other treatises the detailed accounts of their end.[286] Maudgalyāyana, so eminent in magical powers, could not save himself from his murderers who were but a tool in the process of the culmination of a grave sin committed by him in a previous life.[287] The Tibetan annals also support the Theravādin theory of his death, but holds that some heretic admirers were particularly ill-willed against Maudgalyāyana for he had declared that their teacher, now dead, was reborn in hell.[288]

It seems to be a historical fact that both Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana passed away before the Buddha. Our text does not elaborate the resolve they had made in the past, except for referring to them in the story of Abhiya as expressing the wish to become the disciples of a Buddha.[289] The omission is conspicuous, for the Mv. speaks of the resolves made by some other leading members of the *saṃgha*. The Southern tradition tells us that they made their resolve for this unique post at the feet of Anomadassi the Buddha.[290] The Sanskrit texts have a different story according to which Śārīputra, born as a girl, waited upon a Pratyeka-buddha and offered him some needles,[291] or sewed his robe,[292] and thereby resolved to develop an acute intellect that would penetrate all subtle matters hard to understand.

Maudgalyāyana is often referred to as Mahā-maudgalyāyana, although the Buddha usually spoke to or of him without the honorific prefix. As for Śārīputra, no necessity of adding *mahā* was ever felt. "Why is he never called Mahā-śāriputra in BHS or Pali", wonders Edgerton, "when Maudgalyāyana, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa and other disciples so often have the prefix Mahā ?"[293] For a well-informed Buddhist, however, the explanation is clear, for he knows that there was only one Śārīputra,

whereas the *saṃgha* had more than one Kāśyapa, Kātyāyana and Maudgalyāyana which necessitated the distinction of the most prominent disciples by the said prefix.

Mahā-kāśyapa

Mahā-kāśyapa's place in the Fraternity of monks and nuns was unique and unequal. One of the most important *sūtras* in the Mv. records the story of his renunciation and ordination.[294] Following this discourse, supposedly delivered by Kāśyapa the Great himself, he left behind a wealthy and comfortable home life in search of spiritual enlightenment. The *sūtra* does not say anything about his home life or social state, but simply emphasizes that he renounced a rich and comfortable life (*alūkhaṃ gṛhavāsaṃ*) which comprised eighty cartfuls of gold pieces, five hundred male servants, five hundred female servants, five hundred fields, five hundred cattle and a large quantity of agricultural equipment, in addition to the union with Bhadrā Kāpilānī,[295] his wife.

The ancient Buddhist tradition brings to light the whole life-story of Mahā-kāśyapa, embroidered by the usual features of legendary, imaginative and poetical exaggeration. Pali commentaries are never tired of featuring the romantic story of his home life, which was for them a fine example of the exceptional admixture of luxury and chastity. He was born, as the Southern tradition records, unto a brahmin family, in Mahā tittha-gāma.[296] The AbhiS. gives the name of the hamlet of Mahāśūdra,[297] and the Av.Kalp. simply calls it Magadha-grāma.[298] The different authorities do not agree as to his father's name, which is given as Kapila,[299] Nyagrodha,[300] or Nyagrodha-kalpa,[301] but they are unanimous that Mahā-kāśyapa's personal name was Pipphalī. The parents wanted him to get married and look after the family affairs, but the stoic youth would never entertain carnal thoughts. After much perseverance on the part of the parents, he consented to marry, provided a girl of his choice was found. The tradition preserves an interesting story describing how he got married to Bhadrā, which strikingly reminds us of the Kuśa-jātaka of the JA.[302] Fortunately for Kāśyapa, Bhadrā[303] was also apathetic to sensual pleasures, and both of them led a wholly chaste life throughout their nuptial union. The Papañca-sūdanī maintains that both

Kāśyapa and Bhadrā Kāpilānī were pure by nature (*pakati-suddhi*), and that they could never indulge in lustful thoughts.[304]

Coming to know of the unhappy reality that they were responsible for the harm they caused insects in agricultural works as well as in household life, they decided to renounce the secular life; and it was on this decision the Mahā-kāśyapa left home taking with him just a patched cloak of hempen rags (*kārpāsikaṃ paṭapilotikaṃ*).[305] He met the Buddha at the Bahuputraka shrine to the north of Rājagṛha,[306] where the latter was, according to some, actually waiting for him.

Mahā-kāśyapa's conversion is particularly notable for its characteristic feature. Unlike all other early converts, he had his faith in the Buddha even before he made enquiries as to his teaching. Faith (*śraddhā*), an indispensable element in spiritual enlightenment, seems to have been the sole impetus in his joining the Order. The Enlightened One, too, accepted him as a disciple without any prior enquiries,[307] and delivered a condensed discourse on the application of mentality (*smṛti-upasthāna*).[308] Mahā-kāśyapa became an arhat on the ninth day after he became a disciple of the Buddha. His ordination is sometimes referred to as the illustration of *ovāda-upasampadā*, one of the types of ordination.[309]

He is known to the Fraternity as Kāśyapa the Great, the prefix 'Mahā' being added by way of differentiating him from others who bore similar names such as Kumārakassapa and Uruvilvā-kāśyapa.[310] He is honoured by the tradition as the foremost among those who observe the vows of purification (*dhutaṅga*).[311] He made it a habit to take the vow of observing all the thirteen *dhutaṅgas* concurrently. In the Divy. we find a touching story describing his vow of living on begging.[312] The special honour bestowed on him by the Buddha by donning his own robe of refuse rags (*pāṃśukūla*) may be indicative of this unequalled proclivity of being a strict observer of *dhutaṅgas*. He himself was always conscious of this, and did not fail to remind impudent members of the Community that he had the rightful claim to call himself "a real son of the Buddha".[313] It may also be surmised that he was a strictly disciplined character or a martinet, whose rigid disposition did not always contribute to a sound and smooth environment.[314]

The tradition hints to the fact that he was sometimes rebuked

by indisciplined members of the *saṃgha*. Sthūla-nandā, a not very devoted nun, once reminded him of his having been a heretic wanderer before joining the Order.[315] Mahā-kāśyapa strongly refuted the charge, pointing to the fact that he never had a teacher other than the Buddha in whose name he adopted the religious vocation. The tradition, it should be remarked, never forgave such rude questioners of the Great Disciple, and Sthūla-nandā was, we are assured, doomed to hell where she is now expiating her formidable sin.[316]

The Buddhist authorities place Mahā-kāśyapa as the third Great Disciple of the Buddha, and with the death of the Buddha and the two chief disciples, his responsibility towards the Norm and the Order naturally became more weighty. By nature he kept aloof from the assemblies and congregations of monks, but whenever he noticed disciplinary rules being violated or unheeded, he would remonstrate with the offenders. The Mv. refers to him as calling Ānanda "a youngster" (*kumāraka*),[317] but the Pali commentary explains it as a remark reflecting the beneficial intimacy that existed between the two.[318] He is said to have possessed seven physical characteristics of a Great Man (*mahā-puruṣa*).[319]

Mahā-kāśyapa was the seniormost disciple who survived the Buddha. Still, he was not present at the deathbed of the Respected Master. It is evident that the tidings of the Buddha's demise reached the Great Disciple very late and he could arrive at the cremation ground only at the last moment, although the tradition justifies his late arrival by saying that he came on foot, without employing his miraculous powers, as a token of respect for the departed Master.[320]

We know for certain that Mahā-kāśyapa was the convener of the First Council. Foreseeing the imminent threat to the proper preservation of the Law, he rightly performed his sacred duty as the true heir to the *dharma*.

Nothing is known about his last days and death. It is a remarkable feature in the ancient accounts of the great disciples that they observe a curious silence regarding the last days of those prominent *arhatas*. The devouts of later times have tried to immortalize him, awaiting the advent of Maitreya the Buddha to whom he would hand over the historical robe of Gautama the Buddha.[321]

Rāhulabhadra

Among the accounts of all chief disciples of the Śākyamuni, it is regarding Rāhula the Fortunate (*bhadra*) that one might expect to find the most detailed and picturesque description presented by the ancient tradition. But, it is in vain that one goes through exhaustive commentaries and other authoritative annals, otherwise informative of so many things, to collect materials for a comprehensive delineation of Rāhula the Buddha's son. The tradition seems to prefer to be reticent on this distinguished figure, as well as on Yaśodharā, his mother, except for some sporadic references and cursory notes. The little that we learn from the tradition is also not without contradictions.

We may take it for granted that the tradition is authentically referring to a historical person when it speaks of Rāhula, the son of the Buddha, or rather of the *bodhisattva*, who became a sincere disciple, obedient and enthusiastic. But when he was born, and when he was admitted to the Order, or what became of him afterwards, all these points are not clear to us and it seems likely that we shall never know more than what the ancient tradition actually wanted us to know about him. Regarding Rāhula's birth and ordination, there are two different traditions, one preserved in the Mv. and other Northern Buddhist works, and the other acceptable to the Pali sources. The former tells us a curious story about his six years' uterine confinement, and holds that Yaśodharā delivered her son exactly on the day on which Siddhārtha attained Enlightenment. The Southern authorities are categorical as to his birth taking place on or before the date of the Great Renunciation (*māhā-abhiniṣkramaṇa*).

Following our text, we learn how Rāhula was ordained as the first member ever admitted to the Order of novices (*śrāmaṇera*). His ordination, generally recounted in a more or less similar way in all forms of the tradition, took place on the Buddha's historical visit to Kapilavastu.[322] The prince saw his father for the first time in his life, was naturally attracted to him, and followed him up to his dwelling place. The Buddha, a strong advocate of early renunciation, made his young, innocent son a novice with Śārīputra as the preceptor (*upajjhāya*).

On the Buddha's visit to the Śākyan city, Rāhula was no doubt one of the happiest ones in Kapilavastu. Our authority differs from other sources to say that the Śākyan elders ordered

that no one should disclose to Rāhula who the Great Ascetic was.[323] But Rāhula insisted on knowing the truth, and Yaśodharā was compelled, partly by his persistence and partly by her own motherly emotions, to divulge what Śuddhodana so earnestly guarded from the prince's knowledge. Moreover, we can glimpse from what our text records that he had been somewhat conscious of his being fatherless,[324] and in the circumstances it was but natural that Rāhula should sit at the feet of his illustrious father and talk to him in an innocent manner befitting his tender age.[325] The Northern tradition adds that Yaśodharā gave some sweetmeats to Rāhula to give the Buddha, and our text interprets it as an attempt on her part to allure the latter.[326] The Tibetan accounts go further and inform us how that peculiar confectionary, which was prepared by Yaśodharā in advance with the intention of tempting the Buddha was given by Rāhula in the street, whereupon the Master made Rāhula himself eat it, and then as a consequence of it the latter was tempted to follow his father.[327]

Regarding the circumstances of his ordination, too, we find a considerable diversity among different traditions. According to the Pali sources, it was on the seventh day of the Buddha's stay in Kapilavastu that Rāhula, prompted by his mother, followed the Buddha demanding his inheritance, which compelled the Tathāgata to ordain him without informing the child's guardians.[328] Our text holds that Rāhula himself insisted on leaving home, and finally obtaining the consent of his mother and grandfather, renounced home after seven days.[329] The Southern version may be a modification of the dramatic account, by which the redactors wanted to illustrate the disciplinary injunction regarding the admission of novices.[330] But it is likewise incredible that a young boy of seven should be allowed by his elders to join the religious order of wandering monks. However, taking into account the fact that the Southern School also commemorates Rāhula as a person who left home in sincere faith and enthusiasm for religious life,[331] it may be presumed that he was more than a very young child at the time of his ordination.

But there seems to have been a serious controversy regarding Rāhula's age when he joined the Order, which probably originated from the uncertainty of his date of birth as well as the date of the Buddha's arrival at Kapilavastu. The Theravāda opinion

is that Rāhula was just a lad of seven years, having been born sometime round about the Great Renunciation. It may be pointed out that the Elders were also not wholly unanimous as to the exact date of his birth,[332] all the same they usually place the date even prior to the *bodhisattva*'s leaving home. And accordingly, they place the Buddha's visit towards the end of the first year after the Enlightenment. In the Northern tradition the controversy is far more serious. Some say that Rāhula was born on the very night of the Great Renunciation,[333], and others say that he was just conceived that night.[334] The Mv. is not specific concerning his age, but states that his delivery was delayed by six years.[335] But we are really confused to find the text once referring to the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu as taking place seven years after the *abhiniṣkramaṇa*, and another time speaking of a twelve years' absence of the Buddha from Kapilavastu.[336] In either case they represent Rāhula as a boy of six or seven years, and thus far agree with the southern authorities. On the other hand there is another view preserved in the AbhiS. according to which Rāhula was fifteen years old at the time of his admission to the Order; as he was born two years before the *bodhisattva* commenced his penance and the Buddha visited Kapilavastu seven years after his Enlightenment.[337] The Southern annals on the other hand are so certain of their tradition regarding the date of his birth that they maintain that Rāhula was twenty years old when he received the higher ordination and attained to *arhat*-hood around the fifteenth year of the Buddha's Enlightenment.[338] In view of all these divergent opinions, we are not in a position to ascertain the exact age of his renunciation.

It is interesting to notice the stories referring to his unusually delayed birth. The treatises representing the Northern tradition maintain that Yaśodharā would not bring forth her son for six years, due to the grief and misery caused by the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation. It is also stated that Śuddhodana suspected Yaśodharā's faithfulness, and that she was obliged to prove her innocence which she did by performing a miracle.[339] That her life was not very happy in the absence of her husband, and that somehow or other she was threatened with even physical tortures can be glimpsed from our text also.[340] Moreover, the exponents of this tradition forward two stories of the past to

explain the fact that it was in consequence of a sin committed by Rāhula and Yaśodharā that they had both to suffer in this extraordinary manner. Rāhula had in one of his former lives detained the *bodhisattva* in confinement for six days,[341] and Yaśodharā had been disrespectful towards her mother whom she caused to carry a burden without any help.[342] Pali sources make no mention of these episodes, but they do speak of a similar event, it may be remembered here, with regard to Suppāvāsā the Koliyan lady, who bore Sīvalī for a similar duration of time; and a story corresponding to the above-mentioned one is related in justifying this delay.[343]

Apart from the detailed and somewhat poetical accounts of his ordination, we hear very little about Rāhula; a fact which has led scholars to conclude that his *rôle* in the history of Buddhism was not very important.[344] The picture of Rāhulabhadra presented and preserved in the ancient records is definitely that of an ideal personality, particularly with respect to his well-disciplined behaviour and meek obedience.[345] He is reported to have once brought some medicinal preparation of mango-juice for Yaśodharā, who was suffering from a stomach ailment.[346] Another reference[347] discloses that he was prone to entertain some thoughts of carnal character, though confined to passive speculations on his own beauty. The Buddha detected the trend, and admonished him finally leading him to spiritual emancipation. Mystery wraps up his last days, and we do not hear anybody even recalling him after his untraceable disappearance. A Pali commentary incidentally mentions that he passed away while staying in the Trāyaśtriṃśa heaven.[348]

His name, too, evokes a sense of curiosity, if not uncertainty. The Southern tradition defines the name referring to an utterance of Siddhārtha.[349] It has been suggested that the name must be indicative of a certain astrological connection with his birth; a view which gains weight in the light of the fact that similar names connected with constellations are found in the lists of the sons of ancient Buddhas, too.[350] And it is further supported by the statement that there was an eclipse at the moment of his birth.[351]

Śākyan Members of The Saṃgha

In the first year of the Buddha's mission, there was no Śākyan member to be found in the Order of the Śākyaputrīya monks.

Whether the phenomenon was the necessary outcome of the Buddha's negligence of his own community, or of the indifferent attitude on the part of the Śākyans towards their own kinsman, now the Founder of a new religious system, we cannot ascertain. Although the ancient authorities may allow the observation that the Master had no plan to bestow on the Śākyan kith and kin the benefit of his Supreme Enlightenment, yet the situation may be regarded as being due more to the indifferent or neutral stance maintained by the Śākyans, rather than to any degree of negligence on the part of the Buddha. Bearing in mind the fact that the Tathāgata once saved, as the tradition records,[352] the Śākyans from the ghastly catastrophe that Virūḍhaka (Pali. Viḍūḍabha) had taken oath to cause to them, it has to be admitted that the Śākyans were, after all, not deprived of being benefitted by the Buddha's compassion and blessings.

When the new Order began to receive members from the distinguished populace of Kapilavastu, it was not the royal personalities, but individuals of comparatively inferior status such as Udāyī and Chandaka that were privileged to be the first ones. The third one from the Śākyan city to follow them was, as we know, Upāli the barber.

The account of the ordination of Chandaka and Udāyin as we find in the Mv. is somewhat different in form and substance from what we learn of them from the Southern authorities. Following our source of information, we come to know that these two friends were more or less obliged to be ordained by the Buddha, and that they actually had no wish to do so.[353] The JN. and other Pali works as well as Sinhala and Burmese annals are of the opinion that both Channa (Chandaka) and Kāludāyī (Kālodāyin) were impatient to renounce the world and follow the footprints of their beloved Master. Channa would have become an ascetic along with the *bodhisattva* himself, according to them, had it not been for the latter's strong objection.[354] Kāludāyī, asked by the king to bring the Buddha to Kapilavastu, laid the condition that he might be allowed to become a *bhikkhu*.[355] The Pali tradition would have us believe that the only one from the Śākyan land that was compelled to become a monk against his wish was Sundaranānda. Strangely enough our text does not record this

similarly attractive and famous episode; nevertheless, the account of Chandaka and Udāyin's ordination contains similar elements. What we are to deduce from these divergent descriptions is that the Master had of necessity to ordain some members of the Śākyan Community without the acquiescence of the parties involved.

About Chandaka, we know but very little. The Pali tradition tells us that he entertained a sense of pride and supremacy among the members of the *saṃgha* on the basis that he helped the *bodhisattva* in his renunciation. The Buddha ordered monks to impose a social boycott (*brahma-daṇḍa*) on him. Horrified at the severity of this undefiable punishment he is said to have reformed himself and soon attained *arhatship*.[356]

Udāyī figures in the Mv. as the reconciliator between Śuddhodana and the Buddha. It was largely to the credit of his efforts that the Master was welcomed to Kapilavastu. The beautiful verses in which he elaborates the propitious background set by Nature for the Buddha's journey to Kapilavastu sounds rather an implicit assurance of a hearty welcome in addition to a comfortable journey. After obtaining the Buddha's consent, he is seen visiting Kapilavastu and in a way compelling the Śākyans, particularly Śuddhodana, by means of his miracles to welcome the Śākyamuni and his followers. The Pali sources are silent upon these events, but admit that Kāludāyī everyday brought from Kapilavastu special meals for the Buddha.[357] He is duly honoured by the Buddha for his service by being installed as the pre-eminent among those who are efficient in pleasing devoted families.[358]

We can easily dismiss the information given in the Southern authorities in connection with Śuddhodana's sending emissaries with retinues of thousands to the Buddha and their unopposed admission to the Order. The Sinhala, Burmese and later Pali annals exaggerate when they state how the Buddha visited Kapilavastu with an assembly of twenty thousand monks, a half of whom were Śākyans, and this does not seem to be trustworthy in view of Śuddhodana's worry that Siddhārtha, being a Kṣatriya, had a following comprised only of Brāhmaṇas and other non-Kṣatriya groups.[359] And it is therefore reasonable to regard that Upāli was the next one to receive ordination.

Upāli was ordained before the ordination of the six Śākyan

princes. According to the Mv. it was incidental, for Upāli approached the Buddha earlier than the Śākyan nobles who spent time over taking leave of their relatives.[360] The Pali authorities give us the impression that Upāli was ordained first by the Buddha as he wished to crush the unwarranted prejudice of the caste supremacy of the Śākyans. Our authority also accepts that the Śākyan princes had to bow at his feet,[361] a remark that supports the Southern tradition that the Buddha intended Upāli's ordination to affect the caste-feelings of his kinsmen.

The Mv. contains a special reference to his shaving the Buddha's head.[362] The implication of the story is significant, proving that the Buddha required from time to time the barber's service; a point which is in direct conflict with the Theravādin opinion that the Tathāgata never required shaving or hair-clipping. The tradition represented by the Mv. and the AbhiS. tells us how Upāli, entrusted to the Buddha by his mother with the task of rendering his service to the Buddha, had already attained the progressive stages of meditation (*dhyāna*) before the ordination.[363]

Upāli was honoured by the Master himself as the pre-eminent among those who were celebrated as the Doctors of Vinaya. The tradition is unequivocal on the point that he presided over the *Vinaya* recitation in the first Council.[364]

Among the first Śākyan princes who came to the Buddha for ordination, Aniruddha,[365] Devadatta and Ānanda seem to have been prominent. Aniruddha was the son of Amṛtodana, and brother of Mahānāman and Bhaṭṭika. In some stories of the past he has been identified as the *bodhisattva*'s brother.[366] Stories are found in the tradition which seem to have been motivated by emphasizing his luxurious life and acute intellect. The Mv. records an incident wherein he is said to have noticed a single lamp missing among a thousand lamps burning together.[367] Pali commentaries recount with equal interest the luxurious mode of life in which he was brought up. The prince had never heard the expressions conveying the idea of scarcity of provisions, much less of poverty.[368] He had no knowledge of even the severity of a householder's responsibilities, and was astounded when told of the troubles and hardships a householder had to face in earning his livelihood.[369] At the point of

choosing one of the two alternative modes of life, viz. household life or religious vocation, he willingly accepted, according to our sources, the latter on the curious ground that it is comparatively more comfortable and easy-going.

References are found often to the fact that there were some individuals who joined the Order simply for the sake of a livelihood,[370] but in this particular case, the account seems to have been motivated by an absolutely different objective. For Aniruddha, there was no question of livelihood, and he would have been wiser to choose the home life if he really meant what can in normal terms be called a comfortable life. The religious life is more carefree and less uncertain, of course, but not from the standpoint of a wealthy prince like Aniruddha. That he accepted the homeless state of monkhood in view of the troublesome nature of secular life is probably magnified with the aim of extolling the advantages of the cenobitical life. Our compilers were well aware of the fact that once it is established that a delicate prince of such a social status joined the Order and was really benefitted thereby, it would certainly encourage all others to follow that example.

Aniruddha is also ranked among the eighty great disciples of the Buddha. He was the first and foremost among those who possessed the divine eye (*divyacakṣuṣ*).[371] He was probably the only leading disciple of the Buddha, except Ānanda, who stood by the Master on his *parinirvāṇa*.[372] In the first Council he had a prominent *rôle*.

The image of Devadatta, often spoken of as the Judas Iscariot of the Buddhist tradition,[373] is, as represented by different forms of the sacred Scripture, invariably grim and vicious. Though his relationship to the Buddha is a matter of dispute, all authorities equally hold that he was the strongest opponent of the Buddha. According to the Mv. he was a cousin of Siddhārtha Gautama, he being the son of Śuklodana and the brother of Ānanda and Upadhāna.[374] The Pali tradition knows him as the brother of Yaśodharā and the son of Suprabuddha, who had married Amitā, the sister of Śuddhodana.[375] Another tradition assigns him to be the son of Droṇodana.[376] The uncertainty among the various traditions as to his relationship with the Śākyamuni is of little consequence, as he is in any case proved to be closely related to the latter.

It is his inexorable inimical stand against the Buddha that leaves an indelible impression upon the faithful reader's mind, as various works paint his numerous deeds full of vengeance against the Master and the Community. The Tibetan sources preserve the famous episode of the swan, which was hit by Devadatta and saved by the *bodhisattva*, implying that the enmity of Devadatta was a deep-rooted one, traceable back to their home life. Although our authority makes no mention of this remarkable incident, its tone is strong enough to convince one that Devadatta stands for villainy, ferocity and violence, whereas the bodhisattva represents the stronger force of righteousness. The authorities tell us of another incident in which Devadatta is seen killing an elephant with the bodhisattva emerging as the benevolent superior.[377] There are other references to his malicious intention to seduce the *bodhisattva*'s consort.[378]

Devadatta was also a member of the first Śākyan group, may it be of five hundred or of just six,[379] to reach the Buddha asking to be admitted to the Order. Some annals make it a point to imply that he had no sincere wish to leave home, but just pretended to be interested in renunciation, hoping that others might ask him to reconsider the decision. But the table was turned on himself as the Śākyans did not bother a bit about him thus leaving no alternative for Devadatta but to join the Śākyan group going to be ordained by the Buddha.[380] The Mv. does not go into details, but agrees with other sources that on the occasion of their departure, some ominous sign manifested itself to mark his future failure.[381] The Mv. statement that the Buddha did not allow Devadatta to have the ordination by the 'Come Monk' (*ehi bhikkhu*) formula[382] is not supported by the Pali versions. The texts belonging to various schools are, however, not following a unique original source regarding Devadatta. Some say that he refused to worship Upāli on his admission,[383] and others hold that he renounced the world in sincere faith[384] and obeyed the Buddha as was worthy of a loyal disciple.[385] Moreover, the Pali tradition does not attempt to disfigure his image unnecessarily by indulging in imaginitive prevarications, and lets the reader have the impression that he behaved properly in the early days of his association with the Buddha.[386] In the Udāna-pāli we find the Buddha himself appreciating Devadatta,[387] whereas another reference testifies

to the fact that Śārīputra once recommended him as a good preacher.[388] The AbhiS. on the other hand holds that the Buddha did not accept him into the Order, whereupon he had to join a heretic system, and declare the Buddha to be his adversary.[389] In the light of these diversities we may conclude that the later compilers being impressed by his malignant and audacious behaviour, did overlook the historical fact concerning his renunciation and invented some stories to emphasize his wickedness and failure as a Buddhist monk.

The Mv. calls him "the wicked one" (*kalipuruṣa*),[390] but does not go further to specify his misconduct, although such stories must have certainly been known to our compilers. Nor does it, unfortunately for us, present the details of his clash with the Buddha which involves some disciplinary points as well. From other sources we learn how he entered into the treacherous conspiracy with Ajātaśatru, his patron, to devise a plan to seize power.[391] The prince was incited to murder his father the king, Bimbisāra, and ascend the throne, while Devadatta himself would do away with the Buddha and become the sole leader of the *saṃgha*.[392] The State and the Church would thus have become united for the first time in the history of Buddhism, and exercised an unquestionable and undefiable power to rule and guide the people, rightly or otherwise, but ill luck stood in Devadatta's way. He is said to have set loose a drunken elephant before the Buddha, hurled down a stone to crush him, hired archers to shoot him, attempted to poison him, and all these diabolic devices having failed, he finally filled underneath his nails with a deadly poison, intending to scratch the Buddha's feet while saluting him.[393] The greatest harm he caused to the Fold was the schism, based on the five points of extreme mortification. It is really disappointing that our text should remain silent on these important events, particularly when the theme of the work could have accommodated information about his activities.

It is out of our field of observation to go into details as to the cause and background of the schism caused and headed by Devadatta, and it is sufficient here to remark that he was only the strongest among those who raised their voices[394] against what they considered as a proof of the Buddha's being prone more and more towards luxury, while some other monks mur-

mured that the Master was too harsh and rigid in imposing rules for the Order. We know that the revolting opponent (Devadatta) had the provisional support of a considerable number of monks,[395] and Fa-Hien records that he found a religious sect of monks honouring the three former Buddhas, but not Siddhārtha Gautama;[396] a remarkable, though singular, reference testifying to the survival of Devadatta's opposition to the Śākyamuni.

In a large number of Pali *jātakas* he is invariably identified with the villain of the past story.[397] In some Buddhist Sanskrit works also we come across the same point of view,[398] and our own text contains references, though rarely, indicative of the fact that it was not unaware of this tendency.[399] A contrary opinion in regard to Devadatta's enmity in the past lives finds expression, as scholars have noticed,[400] in a Mongol work which interprets his immutable hostility in an exclusively dogmatic tone. He inflicted on the *bodhisattva* all possible evil and suffering, according to this interpretation, simply in order to establish the excellence and high qualities of the latter.

Both Southern and Northern texts are unequivocal as to the point that he is reborn in hell in consequence of the grave sins he committed. The Pali tradition tries to be sympathetic towards his miserable doom by stating that he will become a Pratyeka-buddha in future.[401] The SP., out to make Buddhas of all individual beings, on the other hand, allows him to become a Perfect Buddha.[402]

Ānanda's picture as painted in the tradition is that of a calm and patient saint who faithfully attended the Master till the peaceful end of the latter. He is introduced in our text as the brother of Devadatta, but representing the very reverse of his wicked brother. His parents, as known to the Mv., were Śuklodana and Mṛgī the Śākyan lady[403] whereas the Southern tradition knows him as the son of Amṛtodana. His service and loyalty to the Buddha is so evaluated in the Pali sources that he is believed to have lived with the bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven, before descending to be reborn in Kapilavastu.[404] Our text is not specific regarding his ordination and says that he could not obtain his mother's consent to join the Śākyan group that went to the Buddha in a ceremonial procession to be admitted into the Order.[405] The Pali tradition, however,

informs us that he was one of the six Śākyan princes including Devadatta and Aniruddha who entered the Order together.[406] He is said to have been in the constant service of the Buddha for the last twenty-five years,[407] and is honoured as the protector of the Buddha's alms-bowl.[408]

Our text has very little to say about Ānanda. He was known as Videhamuni, which the Mv. seems to define as derived from the fact that he observed the vow of obmutescence (*mauna-vrata*) for some time in Videha Province.[409] The SNA. explains it rather in a fanciful way as it gives the definition of *Videha-muni* as 'the wise sage'.[410] Another Commentary gives the explanation that he was the son of a Videhan lady (*vedehi-putta*).[411] The Mv. preserves a lively discussion between Ānanda and Mahā-kāśyapa on a disciplinary point, and the latter is seen there blaming the former by using the scornful term 'yongster' (*kumāraka*), defying Ānanda's meek objection to it. Buddhaghosa alleviates the contempt of the apparently harsh application of the word by saying that Mahā-kāśyapa used to call Ānanda as such simply because of their extreme intimacy.[412] The account refers to a breach of discipline by some of the disciples of Ānanda,[413] and the SNA. informs us that these young monks were entrusted to the Community by their parents who wished to exploit the good office of Ānanda through that means and approach the Buddha as they pleased, and that after the Buddha's passing away the parents themselves compelled them to leave the *saṃgha*.[414]

Uruvilvā-kāśyapa

The conversion of the three brothers of the Kāśyapa clan is significant in the sense that they not only increased the numerical strength of the saṃgha, but also became indirectly instrumental in winning large-scale support from the people for the new Faith. Bimbisāra was especially impressed by the marvellous phenomenon that such a renowned personality should become the disciple of the young and new Teacher.[415]

Uruvilvā-kāśyapa (Pali.Uruvela-kassapa) was the eldest among the three brothers who headed a religious institution within the pale of the ritualistic cult of Brahmanism. He had a following of five hundred, whereas Nadīkāśyapa and Gayā-kāśyapa enjoyed companies of three hundred and of two hun-

dred respectively.[416] The two younger brothers are hardly more than mere names in the tradition,[417] and they were only following the path shown by their distinguished brother. Their place was situated in Gayāśīrṣa, the vicinity of the Enlightenment; a fact that highlights the Buddha's possible awareness of their presence even during his mortifications. But the Exalted One deemed it time for their conversion only after spending some months in Vārāṇasī.

The Buddha had to employ a good number of miracles to change their stubborn attitude, and it is the embroidered narratives of these exaggerated miracles that give the account a prodigious appearance which is closer to legend than to history. The Mv. speaks of five hundred miracles,[418] and the Southern School, of two thousand and five hundred,[419] but none of these traditions enumerate them in full. The AbhiS. does better, but does not wholly succeed in the attempt.[420] A notable difference between the Mv. and the other authorities regarding their conversion is that in the former the taming of the ferocious serpent occurs as the last and decisive magical performance (*paścime prātihāryaṃ*) of the Buddha in the process of the conversion, whereas the other accounts place it at the very inception of the long-term exertion.[421] There are also some other stories relating similar miracles performed by the Exalted One in order to tame and bring to terms malicious non-human beings, which bear evidence to the fact that the ancient Buddhist tradition did not hesitate to represent the Buddha as employing supernatural powers to overpower and vanquish such malevolent elements. The compilers describe such legendary events in the full spirit of a decisive battle, and little did they wonder if this kind of poetical depiction would represent the Master more as a clever magician than a rational Teacher. The story of this forcible conversion, too, relegates the Enlightened One to the state of a snake-charmer, but the reciters and the devout would not both be unhappy or displeased, as the Buddha is seen achieving his object at last.

The descriptions of the Buddha's miracles at Uruvilvā-kāśyapa's place are wholly legendary in character. Sometimes the anchorites found their sacrificial fire curiously made incapable of kindling, and at other times found their seats or water-pots made invisible. Again they were helplessly made unable to

splint wood, or it may be that they could not eat their own meals. Each and every time the spell was removed only after they acknowledged the Buddha's great power. The Southern authorities and the AbhiS. give the details of another miracle in which divine beings are seen creating a pond, a stone and a tree with a branch bent towards the pond, which were used by the Buddha in washing his robe.

But the Buddha could not, as a matter of fact, win the vast group of conceited brahmin ascetics merely by these miracles, though their performance was appreciated and must have paved the way to their final conversion. Even after a series of sensational miracles, Uruvilvā-kāśyapa would keep thinking that the Buddha was good in magic, but not his equal in spiritual matters.[422] The Pali tradition reveals how the Buddha finally admonished them and declared that they were not *arhats* as they had imagined.[423] Only then, it is said, they sought refuge in the Buddha. Our text on the other hand maintains that the final miracle of taming the serpent was more than enough to convert the whole group.

According to the Pali works, the Buddha first converted Uruvilvā-kāśyapa and his following who threw their religious paraphernalia into the river after their formal ordination. The cast-off things including the ascetic clothes, utensils and other implements brought the other two brothers and their followers also to join the new Order. The AbhiS. also corroborates this tradition, but the Mv. is categorical that all the three brothers and their groups were converted by the five hundred miracles. The attractive feature of the ascetic paraphernalia flowing down the stream and its substantial impact on another group of recluses who also came to join the Order is, however, not forgotten. This interlude is connected with Upasena, their nephew who lived down the river with two hundred and fifty pupils. Foucher thought this was an additional invention on the part of the Mv. compilers,[424] but this does not seem justified in the light of the fact that the AbhiS. also speaks of a nephew of the *kāśyapa* brothers, whom it calls Upasena.[425] According to that authority, this nephew heard the news of their conversion, and came to "remonstrate with them on this indecorous proceeding of their, but was finally converted with his followers.

Uruvilavā-kāśyapa is honoured by the tradition as the chief

among those who have large followings.[426] The Theragāthā preserves a beautiful psalm of six verses sung by Uruvilvā-kāśyapa.[427] He is said to have been nearly six score years in age when he joined the Order.[428] The past story of these three brothers is narrated in different works in an identical form,[429] according to which they had in an anterior birth honoured ancient Buddhas and resolved to be renowned disciples of a future Buddha.

The Five Monks at Ṛṣipatana

Our text contains very little information about the first five disciples of the Buddha. In the account of the *bodhisattva*'s mortification, there is just a casual reference to their leaving him in disgust,[430] and then we find the Buddha delivering the first sermon to them in Ṛṣipatana, and later relating two *jātakas* concerning their past relations before the audience of inquisitive monks. About their lives or missionary activities we learn nothing at all from the Mv. Turning to the other forms of the Buddhist tradition, so vast and diverse, we gather some information about them, although these details are not without discrepancies and contradictions.

The group of five monks are known to our text by the collective name *bhadra-vargiya* (the Fortunate Group).[431] In the treatises representing the Southern School we meet a different group by this name,[432] and the five monks are there called *pañca-vaggiyas*. We are not informed by the tradition as to the origin of the term *bhadravargiya*, and it has been suggested that the word may denote a group headed by Bhadra.

With regard to the historical background of these five monks, whose names are given as Ajñāta-kauṇḍinya (Aññā-koṇḍañña), Aśvaki (Assaji),[433] Bhadraka (Bhaddiya), Vāṣpa (Vappa), and Mahānāma,[434] we find in ancient works a diversity of opinion. The Scripture generally acknowledges without any dispute that they were for some time practising self-mortification, with the *bodhisattva* at Uruvilvā. Whence they came to the scenery of mortifications, we cannot know for certain. From the LV. we come to know that they had followed the *bodhisattva* from the seminary of Rudraka, as they were convinced that he would certainly become the Enlightened One.[435] The Tibetan sources confirm this view, but further state that they

were sent to Rudraka by Śuddhodana.[436] This may be connected with the fact that the five monks hailed from localities adjacent to Kapilavastu, but it would in that case remain inexplicable why they left their master when he revised and altered his path and principles. Chinese sources would like to treat them as blood relatives of Siddhārtha,[437] but this does not hold good in view of the fact that the five monks belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. Aśvaghoṣa also seems to be unaware of their background and thus he briefly says only that the *bodhisattva* met them at Uruvilavā.[438] The Pali tradition forwards quite a different story with a literary motive of laying stress on how these five ascetics were so enthusiastically awaiting the *bodhisattva*'s Enlightenment. From that source of information, which has become the unique origin of the Sinhala, and Burmese biographical accounts, we learn that Kauṇḍinya was the youngest of the eight brahmins who were summoned to prognosticate the infant *bodhisattva*'s future.[439] He had no doubt whatsoever as to the *bodhisattva*'s future spiritual success, and hence renounced the home life along with the young sons of four of his colleagues, in order to await the great event. These commentarial speculations would serve their legendary purpose, but as a canonical text the Mv. had little acquaintance with such concoctions.

The diversity of views regarding the five monks has led some scholars to conclude that the ancient tradition had no definite information in its possession about their background.[440] We had better, on our part, not to arrive at a hurried conclusion, and always be circumspective, dealing with materials faithfully handed down to us by the tradition. At least of one thing we may be sure. These ascetics, like many others, had renounced the world in expectation of the advent of an Enlightened One, a prevalent belief based on the Buddha concept which was characteristic of that age. It is also not improbable that they had already heard of the *bodhisattva*'s career before they met him at Uruvilvā. Their close connection with the Śākyan territory is well-known to the reciters of the ancient Buddhist Lore.[441]

The five disciples hold a unique place of distinction in the Buddhist faith and History, for they were the first ones ever to listen to the *dharma* and realize the Noble Truths expounded by

the Buddha. Kauṇḍinya was the first of all to attain insight into the dharma and hence his singular epithet 'Ajñāta' (Pali. Aññāta or Aññā), the Knower.[442] He became pre-eminent among those disciples who were quick in comprehension.[443] We are not told in detail of their contribution to the fast and successful spread of Buddhist Thought, though we find some minor references to their missionary works, scattered here and there in the Scripture. But these meagre references are not adequate for a complete picture of those devoted disciples of the early period, whom the tradition preferred to let pass into oblivion without leaving any substantial trace behind. Mrs. Rhys Davids is inclined to think that they must have been co-founders of the new Doctrine, having an equal share with the Buddha himself in giving shape to the Buddhist Thought.[444] We have no reasonable ground to concur with such far-fetched conclusions.[445]

Aśvaki (Aśvajit or Assaji) has been identified by the great majority of schools as the prominent disciple of the Buddha who initiated the two chief disciples to Buddhism. The white-horse of the *Valāhassa-jātaka* is also supposed by some authorities to be an incarnation of Aśvajit, and this may strongly support his close association with Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana.[446] The Mv. has embodied three *jātakas* regarding the five monks, two of which concern the past resolves made by Ajñāta-kauṇḍinya and the other one concerns the past of the whole group. The first two *jātakas* narrate how Kauṇḍinya resolved to become the first knower of the Doctrine,[447] and how the *bodhisattva* once offered himself as a prisoner just in favour of Kauṇḍinya who had been born as a merchant.[448] This second story does not appear to have been widely known by the time at which various recensions of the original tradition were assuming their independent forms, as we do not find it recorded in any other authority.[449] Hieuen Tsiang, however, saw a *stūpa* in Udyāna which was supposed to have been built on the sacred spot where the *bodhisattva* offered himself to be handed over to his enemy.[450]

The third story elaborates how the bodhisattva, born as a merchant, sacrificed himself in order to save his comrades who were thrown to the sea after their ship was wrecked.[451] The story alludes that the *bodhisattva* even sacrificed himself for the

sake of the five monks, but the idea has not been given prominence in other schools.

The Mv. vaguely refers to the character of Kauṇḍinya as a simple, self-denying one. He was distinguished, as suggested by this reference, in his not craving for gains and honours, in being inclined towards sequestered dwelling-places and abstemiousness, and from the same passage we learn that he passed away in a lonely environment.[452] The Southern authorities support this delineation, as they tell us how Kauṇḍinya kept himself aloof from the busy congregations of monks, and retired to the Himālayas where he passed away after a segregated life of twenty years.[453]

Yaśoda

The story of Yaśoda's conversion, whether in Pali or in Buddhist Sanskrit, shows a close and strange affinity to the legends grown around the Great Renunciation. Yaśoda was the only son of a wealthy merchant of Banaras. Before descending to the earth for taking birth in his final existence, he too, was a denizen of a heavenly abode, and was entreated by gods, just as happened in the *bodhisattva*'s penultimate sojourn in Tuṣita, to be born among human beings. The accounts of his birthday festivities, as well as of the comfortable life comprising such features as many nurses, three palaces and an extensive seraglio, etc. also show much similar legendary influence. The sum and substance of these highly coloured descriptions may be indicative of nothing more than the reciters' enthusiasm to extol the home life of Yaśoda (Pali. Yasa), the first layman to be converted to Buddhism. On the other hand, it may equally point to a phenomenon under which the narrators were required to present the account in conformity with the characteristic features of the bodhisattva's home life and renunciation.

An interesting story is told in the works representing the Northern School.[454] regarding his birth. Following this story, Yaśoda's parents had no issue for a long time, and their only son was born as the result of a special prayer to the tree-god of a huge banyan tree on the bank of the river Varaṇā. Our text tells us how Yaśoda's mother[455] threatened the hamadryad who was occupying the *nyagrodha* tree that she would cut off the tree unless her prayer for a son was answered quickly.

The AbhiS. and the Av. Kalp. maintain that her husband, Suprabuddha, himself threatened to do so, and the tree-god, terrified by these unprecedented intimidations, entreated Śakra to save him, and the latter in his turn requested a dying god to be born as the son of these two bold parents.

Yaśoda was the first disciple of the Buddha to be converted directly from the household life. This accounts for the deliberate and unconscious attempts by the compilers to make his story a replica of the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation. Different annals have succeeded to a great extent in this direction, as we are told of many similar features. Yaśoda's father had heard, according to some, of his future renunciation, and Yaśoda himself happened to see the Buddha walking down the street and a dead body was also seen by him in the garden.[456] The Mv. does not show full awareness of these developments, but complies with the Pali version as it elaborates how Yaśoda happened to gaze on his sleeping harem, which was a very repulsive sight for him.[457] He is also said to have run away from home at midnight, in a way that reminds us of the *bodhisattva*'s flight. The unmistakable touch of theological interest in the story serves the clear purpose of implying that it is always a difficult task to renounce the home life of wealth and affection. The MSV. goes futher to inform us how even non-human beings helped him by opening the door.[458] Wonderfully crossing a river, too, (it was Varaṇā in this case) Yaśoda comes to the Buddha, lamenting over his psychical agitation, and the Enlightened One pacifies him by a discourse at the end of which he attains supernatural powers. The text does not forget to remark how he dropped his bejewelled sandals by the river bank, a symbolic clue of his renouncing the home life for good, and we naturally recall how the *bodhisattva* also discarded his ornaments in a similar manner.

The rest of the story, found in a basically identical form in all versions, relates how Yaśoda's parents followed him,[459] and how the joint miracles of the Buddha and Yaśoda led the whole family to be converted. Yaśoda's parents and the members of his family could not at first consent to be bereft of their youthful son and relative, a situation which really necessitated some miraculous performances. Hence Yaśoda, still a layman, became the Buddha's first disciple to perform miracles, a good variety of them at that, which had its due effect on the hesitant

parents. The Buddha's cogent discourse which followed the disciple's miraculous demonstrations brought them the final reconciliation, and Yaśoda was accordingly ordained as the first one to get ordination in the presence of his willing parents.

Immediately after this, some friends of Yaśoda also joined the Order, following his example. The tradition gives the names of the first four friends of his as Pūrṇa, Vimala, Gavampati and Subāhu. We know from other sources that Gavampati survived the Buddha, but entered *nirvāṇa* just before the formal inauguration of the First Council. About the other friends we know nothing, and even about Yaśoda himself we do not hear any more from our authorities.

The Mv. differs from other sources as to the former birth (*pūrvayoga*) of Yaśoda, in which he acquired the propitious merit conducive to the success of his present life. Once he was born as a poor man in Vārāṇasī, and served a Pratyeka-buddha.[460] Pali works and the MSV. give a different story in which he is seen cremating a dead body and while so doing, meditating upon the nature of *saṃsāra*,[461] due to the practice of which he became disgusted of worldly life as he was watching the sleeping women. A third story regarding his former life is found in the AbhiS. and the Av.Kalp. according to which he served a Pratyeka-buddha by holding an umbrella over his head to shade him from the heat of the sun.[462]

Among the other historical persons featuring in the Mv. we may here just mention about Nālaka, Sabhika (Pali. Sabhiya) and Pūrṇa-maitrāyanīputra (Pali.Puṇṇa-mantāṇiputta). Nālaka is said to be Asita's nephew, sometimes called Nālada,[463] Nārada,[464] or Naradatta,[465] but the text is evidently confused to mix up Asita's nephew with Mahā-kātyāna (Pali. Kaccāna) a distinguished disciple of the Buddha. In the Pali tradition we find Nālaka and Kātyāyana as two differen tpersonalities, but our text introduces them as one and the same person, *i.e.* Nālaka Kātyāyana.[466] The confusion is probably due to the fact that they both hailed from the same region and had similar family backgrounds.

Nālaka, Asita's nephew arrived at Vārāṇasī, where he met the Buddha. After receiving instruction concerning the vow of strict religious observance of a muni,[467] he retired to the Himālayas, where he entered *nirvāṇa* just after seven months.[468] The

text also refers to his death in the woods,[469] which is in complete harmony with what is said in Pali works regarding Nālaka.[470]

Kātyāyana was the son of a leading brahmin of the court of King Ujjhebhaka Toṇehāraka of Markaṭa.[471] He was named Nārada or Nālaka, and was sent by his parents to Asita, probably in order to protect him against the jealousy of his elder brother, whom Nālaka excelled in studies.[472] This Asita cannot be our famous Asita who forecast Siddhārtha's future, if we are to admit the Mv. statement that he was still alive when the Buddha appeared.[473] But the apparent confusion seems to have been the result of a certain vagueness concerning the two names, for even in Pali works it has left some interesting traces of interrelation of these names. The AbhiS. admits him to be "the most distinguished in the definition of words and fixing their true meaning",[474] the position which Kātyāyana holds in the Pali canonical works. Kātyāyana was a prominent figure in the first Council, and our text presents the exposition of the ten bhūmis with Kātyāyana as the interlocuter.

Sabhiya and Pūrṇa are memorable as two distinguished persons who contributed to the spread of Buddhism at its initial stage. Our text does not reveal much about them beyond that they were converted to Buddhism at Vārāṇasī and became monks.[475]

SECTION IV

Some Mythological And Ideological Aspects

(*A*) *Hells And Heavens*

The perspective of hell and heaven is one of those popular features which all religions have in common. The idea of reward and punishment that in the next life one gets in accordance with one's good or evil conduct of the present life appears to have always been a corner-stone of what we generally recognize as a formulated religion. The Zoroastrians believed that there existed a hell in the middle of the earth where the wicked would be cast to suffer.[476] The Qur'an too, speaks in terms of hell which is mainly occupied by non-believers and killers of believers.[477] Hell in Christianity is an indispensable feature of its cosmology. As for heaven, the conformity is all the more evident.

Illustrating the idea that existence after death is dependent on the individual's merits and demerits has been the strongest medium of inculcating ethical norms in all religious systems.

From the remotest periods of the Vedic age, the belief of a 'dark world' had been in vogue among Indians. Brahmanic law-books present vivid pictures of hells in which sinners are subjected to all types of conceivable and inconceivable tortures, and of heavens where the meritorious enjoy the blissful rewards of good conduct. Jain sacred books also share the Indian talent of imaginative speculation which is especially ingenious at describing sufferings in the Nether Region and the tempting bliss in Heaven.[478]

The description of hells and heavens in Buddhist literature is, as has been already remarked by scholars,[479] not counted among the inventions and contributions of the Buddhists. In fact, they borrowed not only the idea, but also names (at least some of them) and ghastly illustrations of hells from the common Indian tradition. All the same, they presented it in a way of their own, having moulded and modified what they borrowed according to their own viewpoint.[480] The expounders of Buddhism understood at a very early period that without accommodating such deep-rooted ideas and conceptions as well as their lively illustrations, Buddhism would never gain ground as a popular religion for the masses.

The concept of hell and heaven in the Buddhist tradition is based, as is to be expected, on the Law of *karma* which assumes the form of a moral force fully competent in determining the individual's present and future. The sinner shall fall into the evil states of existence (*durgati*) on account of his evil deeds, and the virtuous is to enjoy divine bliss in the happy states of existence (*sugati*).[481] The evil states (*apāya*) have been conceived by our tradition as comprising three spheres, *viz.* hell (*niraya*), the world of animals (*tiracchāna*) and that of departed spirits or ghosts (*preta*).[482]

The Mv. speaks of eight major hells (*mahā-niraya*) and sixteen minor hells (*utsada*) attached to each great hell.[483] The Mv. account of hells is particularly remarkable as a rare instance of full depiction of hells in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. The text presents us a vivid description of the horror and agony of the untold suffering imposed on wretched denizens in different

purgatories. In these hells the damned is subjected to ruthless and endless tortures beyond description. We shall here have a glimpse of what the Mv. tells us about the eight major hells and other minor hells, and observe how far the description agrees with the other similar accounts preserved in different authorites.

(*i*) *Sañjiva* : In this hell inmates are being hacked, upside down, with adzes and knives.[484] In addition to this the victims cause much harm to one another by attacking with iron nails and sharp swords which appear automatically. Notwithstanding the damned does not die as long as his sin is not expiated. A cool wind blows and their severed limbs get fixed as before, and are enlivened once again, just to go through another round of the same torture. Hence the name Sañjīva (Resuscitation).[485] Those criminals who being murderers, warriors or thieves, die with malicious thoughts in their minds, are reborn in this hell. They are subjected to various punishments of cutting and beating for their sins such as killing animals and inciting others to kill.[486]

(*ii*) *Kālasūtra* : Beings occupying this hell are repeatedly being cut into pieces of various dimensions, after having been marked with the 'blackened cord' (*kālasūtra*).[487] The victims are to endure limitless agony (*asāta-vedanā*), still they do not die as their karma keeps them continuously alive.[488] Moreover, they have to suffer from the extremely painful embrace of burning iron leaves, which burn and scorch their skin, flesh and blood. Their limbs are crushed and squeezed like sugar-cane. The callous masters who fetter and imprison their slaves and inflict corporeal tortures on them are condemned to this hell. Hunters, imposters and immoral monks, and even those who are guilty of transgressions such as hurting worms and lice, *etc.* are also doomed to be reborn here and undergo terrible punishments mainly consisting of tortures caused by burning weapons and variety of knives.[489]

(*iii*) *Saṅghāta* : The characteristic torture of this hell is caused by flying mountains, aflame and ablaze, which fall on the terrified inmates and crush them. In unfathomable cauldrons of iron are they smitten for a long time.[490] The armed guardians terrify the damned who runs into the midst of mountains, which clash against one another, crushing the victim like sugar-cane. This hell is meant for those who inflict tortures

on living beings and crush the small insects or oppressed and helpless ones, and set fire to woods or dens thus killing various creatures.[491]

(*iv-v*) *Raurava* and *Mahā-raurava* : These two hells are described in a more or less similar way. It seems that Raurava hell is conceived to be full of smoke whereas Mahā-raurava is full of flames and receive their names from the lament of its denizens.[492] The cruel men who built prisons, hurt living beings or punished people in diabolic and savage manner are reborn in this hell. The Southern tradition speaks of two hells called Dhūma-roruva and Jāla-roruva.[493]

(*vi-vii*) *Tapana and Pratāpana* : These two great hells are notable for their extreme heat. The damned fixed on spikes, the number of these spikes varying from one to ten,[494] is roasted and scorched in the heat of the incandescent walls and floor of glowing iron. When the condemned is baked properly big hounds devour them leaving only bones. This extremely horrible torture awaits the criminals who impale living beings.[495]

(*viii*) *Avīci* : This is regarded to be the greatest of all major hells. Its suffering is supposed to be characteristic for its continuous exposure to the unbearable heat. Like other hells, it also has four walls, all made of glowing iron, and the flames, emerging from each wall beat against the opposite wall whereas the flames from the floor beat against the roof and those from the roof beat against the floor below. Those who commit the gravest sins of murdering mother, father, arhats or shedding blood from the Tathāgata's body are consigned to the flames of this horrific hell from where there is no escape for an incalculable period of time.[496]

Some of these names must have been of dubious interpretation as we do not find them specifically defined in a distinct way. Raurava and Mahāraurava, for example, are called as such on account of the wailing of their inmates and Tapana or Pratāpana, on account of their heat. But in other hells, too, the inmates yell and shriek, and likewise, we are to visualize how an extreme heat exists in all other hells. Similarly, the sins which lead to different hells are also not expounded in a clear-cut way, and they are rather interwoven and interchangeable. The compilers are trying to inculcate that sinful conduct leads to hell, but they only lay stress on the results of taking life and

hurting others. Many moral transgressions have been entirely overlooked by the compilers in their attempt to enlist the sins that lead to hell.

Turning to the other Buddhist authorities, Southern and Northern, we find a number of references to hells and the sufferings undergone therein which can be compared as well as contrasted with the Mv. description of the infernal regions. Buddhist Sanskrit literature generally speaks of eight major hells and sixteen minor hells,[497] although they do not elaborate them in detail. In the authorities representing the Theravādin tradition it does not seem clear that they recognized, at least in the early stages of the development of these descriptions, one consistent system regarding hells.[498] The JA. is in accordance with the Mv. regarding the idea of eight hells,[499] but in canonical works, as scholars have pointed out,[500] there is no indication to their acquaintance with a uniform system of hells. The Nikāyas refer to the 'great hell' (*mahā-niraya*)[501] which is identified by the commentaries as Avīci.[502] Except for one instance where the word avīci is unambiguously employed to denote a hell,[503] the Pali Canon does not use the word as a term to signify a particular hell. The description of hells in the Southern recension of the Buddhist Scripture, however, closely agrees with the Mv. elaboration of hells as found in the Naraka-parivarta-sūtra.

Hell (*niraya*) as depicted in the Pali authorities, too, is four-cornered, has four gates, is encircled by an iron wall, has an incandescent roof and a floor of glowing iron, and stands a hundred yojanas square.[504] The thick walls and dreadful flames of the *mahā-niraya* of the Pali tradition are also in harmony with the Mv. description of the Tapana and Avīci hells. It is generally spoken of as a quadrangular space one hundred leagues each way,[505] but sometimes conceived as circular also.[506] The commentaries add that each wall is nine yojanas in thickness,[507] and the fire of Avīci is so powerful that one's eyes would burst from even looking at it from a distance of a hundred leagues.[508] The tradition seems to be rather uncertain as to the exact etymology of the word *avīci*. It is defined as the lowest hell in which there is "no interval of cessation either of the flames or of the pains of the beings".[509] According to a Sinhala source it is called *avīci* "because it affords no way of escape; it allows of no intermission to its misery".[510] Rhys Davids translated it as the "Waveless

Deep",[511] and the word is regarded to have originally denoted the density of inhabitants. The Chinese equivalent 'Woe-Kan' and the Tibetan translation of term are also said to convery the same meaning.[512] Another explanation of the word is forwarded by Kern, who considered it to have been probably derived from *avach* or *avāchi* (downwards), formed on the analogy of *udach* or *udachi* (higher), thus rendering the meaning as 'the lowest point'. This conjecture agrees with the view that Avīci is the lowest point of the universe.[513] Some other authorities, in any case, opine that Avīci is situated either seven hundred yojanas below the Bodhi tree at Gayā, or twenty thousand leagues below Jambudvīpa.[514] Our text does not specify the location of hells, nor does it enlighten us regarding their duration.[515]

It may be remarked here that the exposition of hells and the different sins leading to these hells as preserved in the Pañcagati-dīpana, a Pali work known only from Siamese sources is particularly in conformity with the Mv. exposition of hells.[516]

As for the minor hells (*utsada*), the Mv. is less elaborative whereas from other treatises we get only a vague picture of varying details. The tradition speaks of sixteen *utsadas*, supplementary of each hell, the number of minor hells thus amounting to one hundred and twenty eight. A convict undergoing the torments of hell is, according to our tradition, cast to these minor hells in a circular way, when he has completed the round of suffering in the great hell. The tradition seems to mean actually only four *utsadas*, *i.e.* Kukkula, Kuṇapa, Śālmalī-vana (including Asipatra-vana and Naraka-kumbha), and the river Vaitaraṇī.[517] Each of the four doors of every hell consists of these four hells, thus allocating sixteen secondary purgatories to each of the eight great hells.

In Kukkula (or Kukūla the fiery pit), the condemned is burnt with hot ashes and sparks, from where he runs to the Kuṇapa (corpse-quagmire) in which he shall be eaten by horrible creatures of fearful sight.[518] In the utsada of woods (*vana-prāntāni*) they are left at the disposal of hungry vultures and other carnivorous birds. As soon as they are once devoured, their flesh and blood reappear only to be subjected to the same torture again. In other expositions we are told of the (*ayaḥ-*) *śālmali-vana* (or Simbali-vana) with gigantic trees which have sharp thorns, each sixteen inches long.[519] Asipatra-vana means the

forest of leaves of swords which automatically injure those who enter that horrible part of hell. Finally they are allowed to float in the river Vaitaraṇī, the Indian Styx, full of hard acid water.[520] The ruthless guardians of hell take the wretched beings out of the river by means of iron hooks and tease them by asking: "What do you want ?" The inmates express their hunger and thirst, whereupon they are forced to swallow red-hot iron balls and drink molten steel.

The expounders of our tradition are very keen to remark that even amidst all these horrid sufferings the condemned does not die so long as his *karmic* power holds him. The Milinda attempts to convince the incredulous questioner who wonders how a being remains alive in these regions full of roaring fire, by giving a simile, that of the embryo in a womb, which is not destroyed through the fire of the mother's stomach, though it is capable of digesting whatever food is put into it.[521]

The Mv. admits the existence of the guardians (*nirayapāla*) in hell. Buddhaghosa and Vasubandhu refer to an opinion held by certain elders to the effect that there are no warders in hell where the suffering is mechanically inflicted on creatures by virtue of their karmic power.[522] The Lord Superior of Hell (*yamarāja*), an indispensable feature in the Pali accounts of the states of unhappy existences, hardly occurs in our text, but it employs the word *yamaloka* as a designation of hell.[523] Yama himself, according to the Southern tradition, is a semidivine being who is obliged to abide in hell from time to time as a consequence of his own evil deeds.[524]

The tradition speaks of two types of hells, *viz.*, cold and hot. The rays emanating from the Buddha's body are said to penetrate into these different hells and make hot hells cool and cold hells warm.[525] Our text incidentally refers to cold waves in hells, but does not mention cold hells. The Buddha's rays do, admits the Mv., enter these hot hells and make them cool and pleasant for a while. On such moments of relief the denizens wonder, according to our text, what can be the reason for this sudden change and realizing the actual cause, put their faith in the Exalted One whereby they would soon gain their release. It may be worthwhile to remark that Maudgalyāyana, though he repeatedly visited hells, is not represented as saving the suffering creatures who had of necessity to expiate their sins all by

themselves; a phenomenon which is in complete agreement with the original Buddhist teaching that the individual himself is responsible for his present as well as future. It is only in later dogmatic exegesies of Mahāyānists that we find beings exempted from hell merely by uttering the name of the Buddha (Amitāyus).[526]

The amazing law characteristic in hell is that once born there, it is not easy to escape from the unavoidable tortures which repeat themselves again and again. Accounts are categorical that one has to enter one hell from another, and keep constantly migrating in the cycle of all major and minor hells. So it is better, advises the text, coming to the ethical side of these lurid delineations, to abstain from all those sinful deeds which would definitely send one to hell.[527]

The other two evil states, *i.e.* the world of animals and that of low spirits (*preta*) are also featured, though cryptically, in the Mv. The animal world is counted among the lowest tiers of the phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*) due to the disorderly nature of unfortunate beings living therein. These poor living beings are understood to be in extreme misery, and have been obliged to be contented with whatever they could find as food and drink.[528] No sense of relationship or responsibility exists among them, who are always set out to devour one another's flesh and drink one another's blood. They are more often than not slain for flesh just in the presence of their own kinsfolk.[529] Although the noble disciples (*ārya-śrāvaka*) of the Buddha are seen assured of immunity from the different states of evil existence, yet the *bodhisattva* is seen so many times born in various forms in the animal world.[530] The tradition, however, admits the fact that it was in consequence of bad deeds that he had to be born in such existences.[531]

The departed spirits or ghosts (*preta*) comprise the third of the unhappy states of existence. The Mv. presents but a very short description of them. They are represented as always suffering from hunger and thirst, their bodies being of formidable shapes, having mouths the size of a needle's eye, and throats that are constricted.[532] Beings are born in this state, as the tradition seems to imply due to their failure to perform meritorious deeds (*akṛta puyāto*) rather than to committing a particular sin of grave dimensions. They are "ill-favoured, of comple-

xion, aspect, smell, and form, and are vile and repulsive, naked without clothes".[533] The unhappiness of their miserable existence is aggravated by the fact that whenever they are hungry and thirsty, they have to relish only filthy stuff such as excrement, urine, phlegm, mucus, pus and blood. This description reminds us of the lurid, hideous and repulsive tales found narrated about *pretas* in the scriptural elaborations of the Buddhist cosmology. The texts present lively descriptions of their pitiful state, in which they are often tantalised by chimerical visions of food and drink, never being allowed to be satisfied with eating or drinking. The commentary to the Pv. records a number of stories describing these miserable spirits, roaming naked, and eating filthy things.[534] The MSV. also preserves some accounts of these wretched beings. The Buddha, it is said, once asked Maudgalyāyana to quench their thirst which they failed to do even in the presence of the flowing stream of the river Bhāgīrathī.[535] Our authority attributes a pathetic verse to a female ghost who worries thus: "Thirsty they run to a stream, but its channel is empty. Scorched they run to the shade, but when they come there, they find blazing sunshine".[536] It is also mentioned that the extreme scarcity of food and drink is the deadly nightmare in the sphere of *pretas* who remain hungry for hundreds of years.[537]

The obnoxious and monotonous descriptions of suffering ghosts and their being released through the merit attained by offerings made to the Buddhist clergy as we find in the later works of apocryphal character may seem to be insinuating the view that the making of liberal gifts to the *saṃgha* is the only hope for, and only means of liberating the beings suffering in the world of departed spirits,[538] but the Mv. does not bear evidence to an advanced stage of this theory. The Mv. refers to pretas, of course, but these references are certainly not motivated by self-interest of the compilers. The ethical lesson of these descriptions is also very much the same as that of the preceding ones, as they inculcate the moral law that one must refrain from sin and develop a good character.[539] The idea of releasing the pretas through gifts given to the monks became very strong at later times, and even in modern Buddhist countries the belief is quite popular.[540] But in the Mv. no attempt is made to perpetuate such a doctrine; a fact that proves its

being derived from a comparatively older tradition which had not yet dreamed of exploiting the human weakness of the love for, and the fear of the dead.

The text attaches to this exposition a short statement relating to Maudgalyāyana's visit to the Plane of Titans (*asura*) and what he witnessed there. The text counts *asuras* as belonging to an evil state of existence, and warns the faithful to guard himself against the evil that leads to such miseries. We shall deal with these references in the section concerning non-human beings.[541]

The lurid picture of the terrible tortures in the infernal regions is counterbalanced in the Buddhist annals by the fascinating tableaux of heavenly abodes and the excellent life of rapture therein. As regards the origin of these colourful magnifications, it may safely be concluded that what has already been stated regarding hells is relevant with regard to this quarter of the Buddhist mythology also. In other words, it is a borrowed idea garbed in the splendid imaginative talent of the Buddhist compilers.

It should also be borne in mind, while dealing with the Buddhist panorama of heavens, that the picture of the upper regions found in the vast ranges of scriptural sources derived from a considerable multiplicity of traditions is unique and identical throughout the Buddhist literature excluding some Mahāyānic treatises of very late origin.

The heavenly abodes as conceived by the Buddhist tradition are divided into three planes, *viz.* heavens of sensual enjoyment (*kāma-loka*), heavens of the world of form (*rūpa-loka*), and heavens of the formless world (*arūpa-loka*). Gods living in these heavens also fall into the three grand divisions of *kāmāvacara*, *rūpāvacara*, and *arūpāvacara* (or *arūpyāvacara*).[542] The Mv. generally does not adhere itself to this terminology while referring to various gods and their spheres; nor does it dismiss these terms altogether. It mentions, sporadically as it is, the words *kāma-dhātu* (heavens of sensual pleasure) as well as *kāmāvacara* and *rūpāvacara* (gods dwelling in those abodes),[543] but never employs the terms concerning the spheres of the formless (*arūpa* or *arūpya*),[544] with which the text shows no acquaintance at all.

Heavens of Sensual Pleasures

They are subdivided into six groups, the names of which are

given as Cāturmahārājika (-kāyika), Trāyastriṃśa, Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmāṇarati, and Paranirmita-vaśavarti.[545] This agrees with the lists found in other works, representing both Northern and Southern Schools.[546] These are the six heavenly abodes belonging to the realm of sensual pleasure. It is also to be remarked that the texts including our own Mv. sometimes speak of two varieties of gods by the names of *bhūmya* (of the earth) and *antarikṣa-cara* (of the atmosphere).[547] Edgerton thinks they represent another two divisions of gods, thus bringing the number of the heavens of Kāmadhātu to eight.[548] But it appears that the text means only the two general categories of divine beings, *i.e.* those spirits and deities occupying the abodes on the earth (*bhūmya*) to which class belong the beings dwelling in trees (*vṛkṣa-devatā*), in woods (*vana-devatā*), and in the sea (*samudra-devatā*), and those divinities of higher classes abiding in the six heavens of *kāma-dhātu*.[549]

Cāturmahārājika is the lowest heaven of the six planes of sensual pleasure. It receives its name from the four Divine Lords of the quarters, who are often referred to as 'the guardians of the world' (*lokapāla*). The four *lokapālas* are frequently mentioned by their collective name of *mahārāja*, but their personal names are also given as Vaiśravaṇa, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Dhṛtarāṣṭra.[550]

Dhṛtarāṣṭra is the guardian of the Eastern Quarter. There are eight nymphs protecting that region under his supervision.[551] Virūḍhaka is entrusted to protect the South, and he is the ruler of *kumbhāṇḍas* (a kind of evil spirits). Virūpākṣa, the Lord of serpent spirits (*nāga*) and Vaiśravaṇa, otherwise known as Kuvera, the Lord of *yakṣas* (a class of semi-divine beings) are assigned to guard the Western and Northern Quarters respectively Each of them is said to have been self-illumined and renowned, and they help people flourish and prosper.[552] The tradition tells us that two of them, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Virūḍhaka, hail from the Āryan stock and the other two, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa, from the class of Dasyus.[553] They are inferior to the gods of the Trāyastriṃśa in rank.

The heaven of Trāyastriṃśa (Thirty-three) seems to be the most popular region of the heavenly abodes in the Buddhist works. The *bodhisattva*'s mother Kaṇṭhaka, Ajapāla, and the poor washer-woman who offered a cloth to the *bodhisattva* are

all born in this heaven. The DhA. opines that a mansion automatically appears in this heaven as someone acquires an efficient merit, and it remains unoccupied till that person is dead.[554] In the stories of the Vv., as Dr. Law has pointed out,[555] there are many more references to the beings reborn in this heaven than to beings reborn in other heavens. In our text we find lively descriptions of this heaven, embroidered with all attractive features of the poetical imagination.[556] We are told of the merry life in the eight lovely parks (*aṣṭasu ca mahāudyāneṣu*) of Trāyastriṃśa, which are named as Vaijayanta, Nandā-puṣkaraṇī, Pāripātra, Kovidāra-mahāvana, Pāruṣyaka, Citraratha, Nandana-vana and Miśraka-vana.[557] The better known tradition, however, discloses that only the last four correspond to the famous four pleasure-gardens of Śakra, the Lord of that heaven. Vaijayanta is the name of the mansion of Śakra, which is believed to have sprung as a symbol of his victory over *asuras*.[558]

Trāyastriṃśa, located on the summit of the Mt. Meru,[559] is the domain of Śakra, the Lord of gods (*devānām-indra*). Śakra is no doubt the Buddhist form of the famous Vedic god Indra, who seems to have been the chief popular god in the Buddha's lifetime.[560] Buddhist legends are full of references to Śakra who is supposed to come down to help the virtuous. Our authority gives one such instance,[561] although with the significant absence of the reference to his seat which in the Pali legends is said to become hot whenever a virtuous being is in trouble.[562] Śakra enjoys the most important place in the Buddhist pantheon, although the place of the god Mahā-brahmā is not less significant.

The Mv. also mentions his Vedic appellations such as Indra,[563] Purandara,[564] and Śacīpati,[565] but more usual designations for the Supreme Lord of the Trāyastriṃśa in the Buddhist tradition are Maghavā, Kauśika, and Tridaśādhipati.[566] Nevertheless, other descriptions like *vajra-vara-dhara* (bearer of the excellent thunderbolt) and *sahasra-nayana* (thousand-eyed) reveal his origin which is easily traceable to Brahmanic mythological expositions.[567] The Mv. does not refer to his famous battle with asuras, so vividly painted in the Buddhist legends.[568]

Śakra is usually represented in the Buddhist tradition as a faithful devotee of the Buddha, *dharma* and the *saṃgha*. The text informs us how he called on the Buddha several times and

showed his deep respect at other times by holding magnificent parasols over the Master's head.[569] Another time he followed the Buddha as a humble acolyte, carrying his alms-bowl.[570] He once explained in the assembly of gods the eight points of exaltation pertaining to a Buddha.[571] He was present at many important discourses of the Buddha, and expressed his deep veneration and devotion. The Pali tradition preserves an interesting story about his impersonifying as a poor old weaver in order to get the chance to offer a meal to the Venerable Mahā-kāśyapa.[572]

Mention is made of the moot-hall Sudharmā and the city of Sudarśana also.[573] The Mv. admits, in harmony with the well-known tradition, the existence of Mātalī, the charioteer (*deva-sārathī*), Erāvaṇa the elephant, and Viśvakarman the divine architect, and Pañcaśikha the celestial musician.[574]

As for the other four abodes of the realm of sensual pleasure, *i.e.* Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmāṇarati and Pāra-nirmita-vaśavarti, our text hardly furnishes any information beyond the allusion that Suyāma, Santuṣita, Sunirmita, and Vaśavarti are the rulers of these heavens respectively.[575]

Gods as conceived by the Mv. are of a higher state of the mundane world, enjoying the best quality of all sensual pleasures. They are said to have been virtuous, mighty, long-lived, beautiful, and enjoying great well-being. Their span of life is very long,[576] and their bliss, their sway, their retinues and their form, voice, smell, taste, touch, garments and ornaments are all of the superior quality.[577] The bodies of divine beings are so subtle and their ornaments so fine that they look transparent. All gods are said to be self-luminous, and they can travel through the air, going wherever they wish. These heavenly abodes are full of all kinds of abundance, and there is no scarcity of food and drinks.[578] The Mv. agrees with the mythological view that gods have no shadows, nor do they blink. Moreover, even in the disguise of men, they leave no foot-prints behind them, and make no audible noise as they move along.[579]

Heavens of The World of Form

These heavens are occupied by those gods who are spiritually higher than the occupants of the six heavens of sensual pleasure. They are termed as *dhyāna-bhūmi*, signiyfing their being parti-

cularly reserved for those beings who practise meditation and achieve the trances of spiritual concentration. According to Buddhist cosmological speculations, the heavens of this division constitute four classes, based on the four trances (*dhyāna*).[580] The Mv. is not clear enough as to the classification and description of the *rūpadhātu*, and beings therein. It does refer, though rarely, to the different tiers of this realm which are found enumerated in a haphazard manner.[581] These references only testify to a stage of development of Buddhist cosmology, which was being expanded and re-oriented at the time of the composition of the relevant portions of our text.

It may however be noticed that the text frequently mentions the gods of the highest heaven of Śuddhāvāsa (Pure Abode), the final and highest group among the four varieties of the world of form (*rūpa-dhātu*). Their position in the Mv. appears to be the highest, but we obtain from our text only very little information about them. Ghaṭīkāra, the *brahmā*, is said to reside in this region of heaven.[582] The Buddhist tradition representing the developed stage of cosmological views speaks of Śuddhāvāsa, the fourth *dhyāna-bhūmi*, as constituted of five sub-groups, *i.e. avṛha*, *atapa*, *sudarśa*, *sudarśana*, and *akaniṣṭha*. Some late accretions of our text show their acquaintance with these names,[583] but the text as a whole does not maintain a unique system in this regard. The text gives us the impression that *śuddhāvāsa* denotes a single heaven. Maudgalyāyana is seen reaching this abode within moments,[584] and we know that it was *śuddhāvāsa* gods who came to divine the future of the infant *bodhisattva*.[585] They also make their appearance at all important events in the Buddha's life.

Śuddhāvāsa[586] gods are said to be devoid of lust (*rāga*) and described as deva-arhats who would enter *nirvāṇa* without returning to the realm of sensual pleasures. This is the opinion held by the Pali tradition also. The five *śuddhāvāsa* heavens are inhabited by non-returning (*anāvartika-dharmā*, cf. *anāgāmi*) beings who have already destroyed mental impurities. According to the other authorities, however, only those who had been the disciples of the Buddha can attain to the final extinction (*parinirvāṇa*) whereas the others have to return to the concupiscent world (*kāma-dhātu*).

Before concluding the present observations, a few remarks

would seem in order as to the adoption and adaptation of gods into Buddhism. It is a well-known fact that the Buddhist tradition with its Indian environment could not but be expected to accommodate the popular mythological features against which it had no uncompromising attitude. "*L'adhésion à la doctrine du Buddha ne détournait pas les croyants de leurs cultes ancestraux*".[587] What is of primary importance for us in this context is the modification and re-orientation that the Indian pantheon had to undergo in the hands of the Buddhist propagators. That the ancient Buddhist tradition did not reject and refute the existence of gods but tolerated and to a certain extent moderated acknowledgement of those divine powers may now seem somewhat paradoxical, but we should not fail to see the significance of the evident transformation of these celestial beings in the Buddhist works. All divine beings from the terrestrial god of the lowest status up to the god Mahā-brahmā, the highest dignitary in the super-human world, are made with no exception inferior to the Three Jewels of the Buddha, dharma and the saṃgha. Śuddhāvāsa gods prostrate themselves before Maudgalyāyana,[588] and the four Lords of the Quarters come to serve as the humble carriers of the pallanquin of the *bodhisattva* and his mother.[589] Mahā-brahmā, whom the credulous brahmins worship, is relegated to the position of a mediocre servant of the Buddha, coming to bear a parasol over the latter.[590]

It has been observed that Buddhism really favoured gods, and the Buddha himself did not directly refute their existence.[591] It is also accepted in the Ratana-sūtra that gods are supposed to protect those men who made offerings to them,[592] still one cannot overlook the fact that this particular *sūtra* was delivered in Vaiśālī, where we know so many ancestral shrines (*caitya*) for local deities were maintained by the Licchavis. It is remarkable that nowhere in the Sacred Scripture is enjoined the worship of any divine being.[593] The Buddha's exhortation to Sigāla clearly replaces the worship of gods by that of the *saṃgha* (and virtuous persons).[594] On the other hand, the rightful objection to the superstitious worship of gods finds expression in the narratives like the story of Yaśoda.[595]

It is also noteworthy that the divine beings are nowhere acknowledged to be more enlightened than wise men. On the contrary, their knowledge is in many ways far inferior to

the human capacity of understanding. The Buddha is seen repudiating the Śuddhāvāsa gods' statement regarding the rare appearance of the Buddhas,[596] implying that the Buddha's transcendental gnosis is far superior to the limited knowledge of gods. Some Pali *sūtras* emphasizing the god *brahmā's* ignorance and vanity are often quoted by scholars as revealing the Buddhist viewpoint in this regard.[597] Our text once represents Śakra coming to consult a learned ascetic, and declaring that the bodily smell of sages is for him redolent.[598] Śakra, as known to all Buddhists, frequented the Buddha with many questions to which he knew no answer.[599]

In view of these observations, we may understand that the Buddhist mythological perspective has adopted gods only in the form of an accessory medium to impress the populace regarding the superiority of the Master, the Doctrine and the Order on one hand, and to inculcate the fundamental points of Buddhist ethics on the other. Jaṭilas of Uruvilvā were overwhelmed, as the Pali Vinaya records, to witness all Divine Superiors visiting the Buddha to pay their homage.[600] The Southern tradition also tells us how Śārīputra's mother, a staunch adherent of Brahmanism, was impressed and converted to the faith after witnessing her renowned son being worshipped by all divinities whom she had been worshipping throughout her life.[601] The Buddhist Lore brings the god Mahā-brahmā to invite the Buddha to set the Wheel of the Law in motion, and the motive of this invention was, as the tradition itself declares, to impress the masses.[602]

The other object of the Buddhist preachers and propagators in illustrating heavenly bliss and the delightful existence of gods appears even more practical. As the horrible descriptions are intended to evoke in the faithful's mind a realistic fear that might serve as a moral force preventing him from sinful conduct, the colourful descriptions of heaven are designed to evoke in him a temptation that would prompt him to accumulate merit. Gods are enjoying such pleasures owing to the merit acquired in their former births.[603] The text extols how even an apparently trivial act of merit led beings to heaven, and insists that the virtuous is definitely to reap the auspicious fruits of his good deeds.[604] The ritual obeisance and ceremonious homage paid to the Buddha's relics and *stūpas* are emphasized as a sure path

leading to heavenly abodes,[605] and this counts to be another instance where the Mv. harmonizes with the Pali tradition, which also stresses on this type of worship as being conducive to the attainment of heaven.[606]

But this is not the ideal destination to be achieved by men and women. On the contrary, the text makes it a point to reiterate that this heavenly bliss is "impermanent, unstable, and liable to change".[607] In accordance with the Buddhist law of transience, beings enjoying themselves in the heavens, too, become subject to the suffering of transformation (*viparināma-duḥkha*), and are reborn, sooner or later, in other states of existence, sometimes even in hell and as animals or ghosts.[608] Hence, one need not crave for heavens, though the listening to the descriptions of such rapturous planes may enhance one's propensity to acquire merit. Once this object is achieved, there is no more necessity for superficial expositions of heavens and gods.

(*B*) *Non-human Beings*

The Buddhist tradition does not exclude the belief in the existence of a number of non-human and semi-human groups. *Yakṣas* (a kind of semi-divine beings), *rākṣasas* (ogres), *asuras* (Titans), *nāgas* (serpent-spirits), and *kinnaras* (another group of semi-humans) find mention among these varieties of non-human beings. The first two groups do not figure much in the Mv. *Yakṣas*, especially three categories of them, *i.e.* Karoṭapāṇi (bowl-in-hand), Mālādhara (wearing-garlands), and Sadāmatta (always-drunk) are referred to as forming a lower stage of the *Cāturmahārājika* heaven.[609] They are portrayed as guardians of heaven against the attacks of asuras.[610] Ogres (*rākṣasas*) are also not given a very prominent place in the mythological perspective of the Buddhists, although they are featured as a hostile class of demons, notably in the *jātakas*,[611] rather by way of a concession to the average Indian mind which is supposed to have been particularly haunted by the belief in malevolent spirits. In the *Dharmalabdha-jātaka* we meet some redoutable ogresses who devour human beings, and in some other *jātakas* we hear of water-ogres (*udaka-rākṣasas*) also.[612] The Pali JA. also portrays *rākṣasas* as a harmful group of non-

humans who sometimes come in disguise to deceive men. That they can assume any form in order to mislead people finds expression in the story of the five hundred merchants in which are seen some ogresses, intent on alluring merchants, appearing as beautiful damsels.[613]

We learn from our authority much more about *asuras* than any other group of non-humans, though these details do not exceed just a few references. Asuras, have always been included among the occupants of the unhappy states of existence (*apāya*). To be born in the asura world is the miserable result of a sinful deed, and they are invariably looked down upon as an inferior class of wretched non-humans.[614] As for their abode, our text is certain that they live in the middle of the great ocean.[615] Other sources also admit this,[616] but some accounts locate their abode beneath the Mt. Meru.[617] This latter view is corroborated by the legends of the fight between gods and *asuras*. According to these stories, the *asuras* formerly occupied heaven. Śakra treacherously defeated them and threw them into their present plight of misery and disgrace.[618] The Mv. states how *asuras*, enraged and bitter about their condition caused by gods, set out for a fierce battle with the gods of Trāyastriṃśa. The asuras think: "We are down below, and the gods are up above." Hence they are "aggrieved, jealous, brimming over with rage, fury and desperation, nor do they conceal it."[619] So they wage war with gods, but are now not in a position to get the better of them.

Buddhaghosa explains that this battle, taking place on the surface of the sea, never takes the form of a sanguinary war, and is just a matter of deciding the victorious and defeated sides.[620]

The status of *asuras* in the Buddhist tradition appears to have been a matter of opinion, at least during the period of the textual growth of the Mv. The text refers to some five groups of *asuras* (*pañca-asura-gaṇaṃ*),[621] but does not specify them. The Pali works speak of two classes of them, namely, Kālakañjakas and Dānaveghasas, the former of which is particularly of fearsome shape and considered to be the lowest among *asuras*.[622]

Even the name *asura* cannot claim, as it seems, a clear definition in the Buddhist Scripture. Exponents of the tradition connect the word with *surā* (liquor) excessive imbibing of which

eventually caused their downfall.[623] Both the Chinese[624] as well as the Tibetan[625] equivalents support the explanation of *asura* as the antonym of *sura* (gods).

The picture of *asuras*, as presented in the Mv. is that of a class of unfortunate beings expiating their sins in an evil state of existence. They are of formidable shape and gigantic size, of frightful aspect and of great malevolence. One of their mean characteristics is extreme jealousy and conceit for which they have to suffer.[626] After all, they are included among the constituents of the Buddha's assembly. They are found among those non-human beings who came to protect the *bodhisattva* at his conception. Some *asuras* paid a visit to the Buddha, who proclaimed them to become Pratyeka-buddhas in the distant future.[627] The Southern School also admits their eligibility for being members of the assembly of the Buddha, but that tradition does not recognize their capability of producing the thought of attaining insight.[628]

Nāgas hold an important place in the Buddhist perspective of mythology. Their origin and symbolic significance as well as their closer relationship with the realistic world are controversial points and are already subjects credited with a number of scholastic discussions. The ancient Buddhist tradition believed them to be a semi-human class, living usually amidst luxury and comfort (*divyehi kāmehi samaṅgibhūtehi*), but unhappy over the fact that they are to have a serpentine form throughout their life. Some descriptions of *nāgas* in the Buddhist stories give us indeed the impression that they are a certain tribe, all the same their mythical aspect is so evident that it appears almost infeasible to find a compromise between the historical and legendary sides of these references.

They are said to abide in the *nāga-loka*, full of wealth and comfort. At the same time we are reminded of their being but venomous and short-tempered dragons.[629] Sometimes they are referred to by the terms *dvijihva* and *uraga*, denoting serpents,[630] and some *jātakas* bear evidence to the fact that they were liable to be caught by snake-charmers.[631] Whenever the legend refers to a *nāga* in human form, it is particularly remarked that it is an assumed form, which is temporary.[632] The Mvg. reveals that a *nāga* in the disguise of a human form can be recognized either while in sound-sleep, or in co-habitation with

a female *nāga*.[633] Obsessed with the thought of their inferiority, they sometimes observe morality in order to obtain their release from this evil birth. The *Campeyya-jātaka* tells us how a *nāga* king endeavoured to observe moral precepts with this aim.[634] The Buddha assured them, as the Mvg. reports, that they would be able to achieve human status by observing the religious vow of fasting (*uposatha*), but prohibited their admission to the Order.[635]

The *nāgas*' life is, however, described to have been far better than that of asuras. Their kings and chiefs resemble the rulers of heaven,[636] and we do not meet a single *nāga* in a miserable plight. Their mansions are like those of celestial planes (*devabhavana-sannibhaṃ*), made of seven kinds of precious stones.[637] Their world has an abundance of all beautiful things such as trees laden with flowers and fruits, ponds and lovely parks. But, as it seems, the narrators of these fanciful stories were not certain as to where this fabulous world was located. We are led to think that *nāgas* live in the depths of the ocean,[638] and some other references indicate the existence of more fortunate *nāgas* who live in mansions on the earth. Mucalinda seems to belong to this latter class of *nāgas*.[639] The Pali tradition informs us that there is a *nāga* territory situated under the Vebhāra mountain of Rājagṛha.[640]

Nāgas are generally devoted to the Buddha.[641] The enthusiastic devotion that our compilers believed *nāgas* to possess towards the Teacher and the Teaching finds expression in the popular episode of Mucalinda's extraordinary way of protecting the Exalted One during the seven days of untimely rain. They were also among the beings who formed a body of guards protecting the *bodhisattva* and his mother.[642] At the *bodhisattva*'s birth some *nāgas* came to bathe him, a scene that had long been a favourite among sculptors. On the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī they displayed their respect for him in a magnificent demonstration of bearing parasols.[643] From other sources we learn how they happened to obtain relics of the Buddha, which they jealously guarded for a long time.[644]

But some *nāgas* were hostile to the Buddha and his disciples. The serpent tamed by the Tathāgata at the hermitage of Jaṭilas had no respect for the Buddha. With this can be compared the dramatic narrative of Maudgalyāyana's confrontation with a

ferocious *nāga*, whom he finally vanquished, but not without considerable toil.[645]

Kinnaras are closer to the human world in many respects. Their appearance has much in common with that of men, and they are particu arly notable for their physical beauty and their sweet voice.[646] Unlike asuras and *nāgas*, they have their permanent abode in the Himālayan region, which is, according to our text, situated beyond the river Śatadru.[647] The Mv. depicts them as a peaceful and truth-bound class of beings, much resembling a tribal community. The other authorities, however, portray them in a more mythological colour, and they are there said to possess even the supernatural power to fly through the air.[648] They are understood to dislike men. Manoharā the *kinnarī* had to take a special bath when she reached her home after living with Sudhanu for a long time, so that the unfavourable human odour be removed. The Pali commentaries mention that they use flowers for their food and clothing.[649] One peculiarity of *kinnaras* as represented in the Buddhist tradition is that they are never featured as a class devoted to the Buddha.

The foregoing pages would show that the Mv. has employed the common features of Indian mythology as an effective medium of propagation. None of the superiors, divine or otherwise, is spared in the bold and decisive attempt of the Buddhists to relegate them to an inferior state subordinate to the Buddha, *dharma* and the *saṃgha*. Yakṣas, ogres and dragons may occasionally show their natural wickedness, but only to be vanquished and tamed each and every time by the Master or by his disciples. In Vaiśālī, demons took to their heels at the mere presence of the Buddha. Asuras come to receive the Buddha's blessings, and spirits (*pretas*), however unhappy they may be, can be relieved of their sufferings by offering alms to the *saṃgha*[650] And even the damned in the most horrible hell (*avīci*) is not deprived of the chance of getting redeemed through purifying their mind with the thoughts of the Buddha's compassion. It thus becomes obvious that the entire superstructure of Buddhist mythology underlies the basic literary motive of enhancing the glory and greatness of the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order.

(C) *The Universal Monarch (cakravartin)*

The Buddhist tradition displays its awareness of the concept of a Universal Ruler in various descriptions of the mighty *cakravartin*. Although our text is not particularly keen to dwell upon the details regarding the superb overlordship of a *cakravartin* (Universal Monarch), yet it makes incidental references to the long established views concerning this legendary ideal of the World Ruler. These sporadic allusions to the *cakravartin* are completely in accordance with the different schools of the ancient Buddhist tradition in this regard.

Cakravartin (Pali.*cakkavatti*), the Wielder of the Wheel, is destined to rule the whole earth comprising that four Continents (*cāturdvīpāṃ mahīṃ*).[651] On the eve of his conception, the would-be mother of the *cakravartin* happens to have a dream, *i.e.* a moon or a sun entering her womb.[652] He also bears the thirty-two auspicious marks of a Great Man (*mahā-puruṣa*), and the diviners, unable to determine the actual destiny of the being occupying the womb, can only suggest two alternatives. He would either remain at home and become a *cakravartin*, or renounce the world and become a Buddha. It is interesting, however, to remark that neither the Mv. nor any other treatise enumerates these physicial characteristics pertaining to a World Ruler, although they are found illustrated in the case of the Buddhas. It appears as though the colourful idea of the seven jewels preoccupied the writers' mind, and the aspect of physical beauty regarding the *mahā-puruṣa* was left entirely to be part and parcel of the descriptions of the Buddha. When the legendary imagination of the world's Supreme Power became a reality of dogmatic significance, it was the Buddha that our expounders invariably preferred to a Universal Monarch as the interesting object of exaltation. Hence are the direct attempts to equate the Tathāgata with a *cakravartin*.[653]

The Buddhist tradition is unique and coherent as regards the seven precious objects (*ratna*) that are possessed by a *cakravartin*. The text enumerates them as follows : (i) the wheel, (ii) the elephant, (iii) the horse, (iv) the jewel, (v) the consort, (vi) the minister, and (vii) the counsellor. He will have a full thousand as sons, chivalrous and courageous. He will conquer the four Continents, *i.e.* Jambudvīpa, Uttara-kuru, Pūrva-

videha, and Apara-goyāna. The most illustrious character of this Monarch is that he conquers the world not by sword, but by righteousness. The Buddhist tradition furnishes us with details of the seven precious objects or treasures, and our own authority puts forward an explanation of the particular merit due to which he obtains these symbols of his supremacy.

The *cakra* (wheel) which is no doubt the most important of all the seven items, has been described as a miraculous circular object "shining like the orb of the newly-risen sun".[654] According to the Pali expositions, the wheel makes its glorious and graceful appearance on the pleasant evening of a full-moon day, as the king's merit becomes ripe.[655] It bears one thousand spokes (*sahasrāraṃ*), all of which are made of seven kinds of precious stones, and indispensable element in the legendary and mythological colouring.[656] It is acquired by the *cakravartin* by virtue of charity he had practised in former lives.[657] This wheel is by nature invincible and triumphant, and proves to be the most helpful in the victorious campaign of the Universal Monarch. The king travels with his fourfold army through the air by virtue of the magical power of the wheel, and wherever it stops while journeying, the local chiefs and populace of those places volunteer to subordinate themselves to the *cakravartin's* supremacy.[658]

The elephant, which is described as one of the glorious possessions of the World Ruler, is obtained by him in consequence of his altruistic activities in former existences. The third treasure is represented by the miraculous horse, endowed with supernatural characteristics. The horse as well as the elephant of the *cakravartin* can fly through the air, and are obtained by the virtuous possessor as the good result of waiting upon his parents and teachers in the past. The jewel denotes a marvellous precious stone which is well-polished, flawless, perfect and excellent in quality. The treasure of the consort is won by him as a token of his having been temperate in the past.[659] Elaborating the jewel of the consort, various Buddhist works derived from the ancient tradition present a unique description of an ideal woman; a beauty of medium size and unequalled charm, befitting the climate, diffusing fragrance and very amicable.[660] The sixth jewel of the minister (*gṛhapati-ratna*) signifies the great and inexhaustive merit earned by the *cakravartin* through gene-

rosity in his former lives. He represents a virtual treasure, of course, as his eyes are capable of penetrating into the hidden treasures of the earth and thus he reveals them to the Lord. As he has helped the helpless, the *cakravartin* gets the treasure of the counsellor (*pariṇāyaka*) who is a wise statesman, prudent and circumspective, and helps the *cakravartin* in the matters of administration.[661] Later Buddhist works ascribe this post to the elder son of the King himself.

The tradition is that the reign of a *cakravartin* is characteristic for its righteousness, the country and people under his noble sceptre progressing towards peace and prosperity. The sovereign himself would preach the Law of righteousness, and encourage people to observe the ten precepts of morality.[662] The Southern authorities also acknowledge his preaching, but they speak only of the five precepts.[663] Bearing in mind the fact that so much stress has been laid on the virtuous conduct and righteous rule of the *cakravartin*, it may seem reasonable to infer that it was mainly by way of a means to guide and inspire the contemporary rulers towards a more humanitarian outlook that such enthusiastic elaborations of the advent of a righteous ruler (*dhārmiko dharmarājā*)[664] found their way into the Buddhist Scripture in a legendary attire. This is fully substantiated by the Pali Cakkavatti-sīhanāda-sutta[665] which indirectly tries to expostulate with the despots who never shrink from harassing people to squeeze their wealth out of them.

Following the Pali tradition, we understand that the Universal Sovereigns, like Pratyeka-buddhas, are born only in the absence of an Enlightened One. The Mv. disregards the implications of such a view, and speaks of the *cakravartins* who existed simultaneously with Buddhas.[666] The text lacks detailed accounts of mythical and legendary character as far as the concept of the Universal Monarch is concerned, whereas we find the other works in full swing at presenting them. This is, however, not a proof of the compilers' inadequate acquaintance with legendary embellishments. The text contains a number of monotonous descriptions of the cities of some past Buddhas, and these passages are, in point of fact, identical word for word with those descriptions which other sources connect with the *cakravartin*.

(*D*) *Māra*

The picture of Māra as found in the Mv. can be brought to light under the present section of our study, inasmuch as the colourful delineation of Māra the Evil One that finds place in our text falls undoubtedly within the range of mythology. Māra, the greatest opponent of Enlightenment, is depicted in the text in the garb of a thoroughly personified supernatural enemy of the Buddha rather than in the form of an abstract idea of metaphysical character; the idea of the evil and ignorance in opposition to the good and insight.

The concept of Māra has been an attractive topic for scholastic investigations.[667] Vallée Poussin identified Māra with Yama or Śarva,[668] and B.C. Law considers him to be the Buddhist form of the Hindu god of love and passion (*kāmadeva*).[669] T.O. Ling thinks that Māra can be regarded as a product of the popular demonological speculations,[670] whereas Warder argues that Māra "presents the laws of conditioned origination in transmigration, in sensual existence, and does not seem to have been a Brahmanical or popular god."[671]

Māra, generally translated as the Evil One or Death, is the personification of evil that rebels against enlightenment and emancipation from the bonds or fetters that keep the being blind to the cycle of phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*). He may either try to tempt the individual exerting for the attainment of spiritual purification, or seek to do away with him. One can gather from the Mv. materials supporting both these aspects; the former more resembling the original idea of the insurmountable resistence within oneself, and the latter testifying to the growing consciousness of the necessity of moulding the logical as well as theological aspects of the Māra concept so as to accommodate the features of popular belief.

In the form of a tempter, Māra's appearance is not so frequent as one might expect to find in the Buddhist works. It is also somewhat doubtful how far it would be accurate to call him a 'tempter', for his wickedness and bitter animosity against those who abjure sensual pleasures are more prominent in the legendary narratives than his attempts to distract them. In various authorities, Māra makes his first appearance before the *bodhisattva* in the form of a tempter, seeking to dissuade him from

renouncing the world, by alluring him with the superior lordship of the world.[672] The Mv. does refer to this incident, but, strangely enough, it is the god Mahā-brahmā, not Māra, that plays the *rôle* of the tempter.[673] Māra is, at any rate, said to have been on the track of the *bodhisattva* "looking for an opportunity to distract and tempt him",[674] although he appears to have never got even a chance to try his luck, except for just one isolated opportunity, as commemorated in a beautiful short elegy[675] in which he is seen approaching the *bodhisattva* with a view to tempt him.

In the accounts of his advances as a tempter, Māra is seen promising the *bodhisattva* Universal Rulership, and suggesting that leading a secular life and acquiring merits through sacrifices are far better than infructuous attempts to realize the sublime truth. Our text seems to advocate that this temptation assumed an active form even on the occasion of the *bodhisattva*'s birth.[676] Māra's colleagues come to assure the newly born Great Being of his future glory as a *cakravartin*, and the latter categorically refuses the offer. The text admits, as a matter of fact, that Māra sought to allure the *bodhisattva* with the offer of Supreme Lordship of the world,[677] but the legendary accounts of his attacks overshadow the original import of the reference. The context remarkably alludes to acquiring merit through sacrifices,[678] and this has led some scholars to think that Māra as conceived by the Buddhist tradition is prone to evaluate the utility of sacrifices.[679] Māra's suggestion in this particular context, however, stands isolated. Besides, the *bodhisattva*'s reply to this suggestion divulges that Māra was merely trying to convince the former of the necessity of merit and that it is not Māra's normal habit to advise the average man under general circumstances to accumulate merit or perform sacrifices.[680]

Māra in the form of a powerful personal enemy of the Buddha seems to be more popular in the tradition as preserved in the Mv. He is, according to these accounts, a mighty god endowed with supernatural powers. He occupies ethereal mansions, made of precious substances,[681] and enjoys the glory and happiness of a very high status among celestial beings. As a king, he has a fourfold army equipped with powerful weapons.[682] He has three daughters and many sons.[683] On the occasions of the *bodhisattva*'s proclamations, it is said, his lovely mansion

shatters and manifests omens, and Māra becomes extremely unhappy.[684]

Māra is usually spoken of as a single power, but the text shows its awareness of the existence of different forms of Māra. The Pali tradition refers to five Māras,[685] four of whom find mention in the Mv.[686]

Regarding the enmity of Māra, the Mv. followed by the AbhiS. holds a view somewhat different from the Southern tradition. According to these authorities, it was not only in this life that Māra maintained an antagonistic attitude towards the Buddha. A number of *jātaka* stories related in our text elaborate how the *bodhisattva* outwitted and frustrated Māra, who tried to harm him in his previous lives.[687] These stories are all the more significant as they evidently establish the point that Māra as conceived by the redactors of these works is subject to the law of transmigration. Some of these *jātakas* represent Māra as a hunter, and it is interesting to remark in this regard that the Pali canonical works also equate him with a hunter.[688]

The Mv. contains three accounts of Māra's fierce fight with the *bodhisattva*, each carrying more gorgeous details than the preceding one. One of the peculiar features in the accounts of this tradition is the consultation of Māra's sons and ministers who advise Māra to give up the vicious thought of attacking the *bodhisattva*.[689] Māra's object in the onslaught was to prevent the *bodhisattva* from attaining to Enlightenment, and thereby going beyond the limits of his realm.[690] But the latter succeeds in his attempt to achieve his goal against the wish and will of Māra.[691]

The text depicts the tenfold army of Māra in its mythological aspect, but the version of the Padhāna-sutta (ii.240.3-17) reveals the original concept of this army. The reference elucidates how mental reflections of desire (*kāma*), discontent (*arati*), hunger and thirst (*kṣut -pipāsā*), craving (*tṛṣṇā*), sloth and torpor (*styāna-middha*), fear (*bhīru*), doubt (*vicikitsā*), pride (*māna*), greed (*lobha*), and honours won by unrighteous means (*mithyā-labdha-śloka-satkāra-yaśa*) take the form of a mighty force. From the Mahā-niddesa Commentary we learn how this tenfold force of psychological instability, allegorically spoken of as Māra's army, can lead a recluse to utter failure and frustration.[692] It

is well-known that the early canonical works do not refer to Māra's army, which is described in later accounts as consisting of four units (*caturaṅgiṇi senā*), though some of those allude to the assembly of Māra (*māra-parisā*). In the earliest accounts of the Enlightenment as preserved in the story of Dīpaṅkara the Buddha, Māra is said to have worried over the occasion, but no battle takes place.[693]

But in later poetical elaborations of the Enlightenment, Māra's attack and defeat form an indispensable part. The whole account resembles a lively description of a serious battle, with all its essential features including challenges, boasts, and war-preparations.[694] The text clearly states that without vanquishing Māra, the great achievement of the Buddha would have meant nothing and that the *bodhisattva* himself challenged Māra.[695] There follows a diabolic attack, full of violence, as Māra thunders to crush the *bodhisattva*.[696] One of the Buddha's epithets describes him as the conqueror of Māra (*mṛtyurāja-praṇudaṃ*), and we find similar epithets applied to ancient Buddhas also.

Māra ventured to make several attempts to disturb the Buddha, and the text especially records how Māra tries to stop the Buddha on his visit to Vaiśālī.[697] Details of many other encounters, such as his inviting the Buddha to pass away immediately after the Enlightenment are omitted in the Mv.

CHAPTER III

THE BUDDHA, HIS LIFE AND MISSION AS RECORDED IN THE MAHĀVASTU

Modern scholars have expressed their regret and dissatisfaction over the striking phenomenon that "there is no life of Gotama the Buddha in the Buddhistic Scriptures".[1] A complete biography of the Tathāgata, in the modern sense, is indeed lacking in the sacred texts of the Buddhists, inasmuch as the canonical tradition categorically believed that what was more important was not the Master's personal life-story based on his physical existence, but the consummate message of his spiritual Enlightenment, delivered for the benefit of the multitude of living beings, human as well as supra-human (*deva-manuṣyāṇāṃ*). Declaring that the real existence of the Tathāgata lay in the dharma,[2] the Buddha had himself discouraged the devout disciples from unnecessarily indulging in admiring his physical entity. But the pious reciters have, however, done their best to enshrine in the body of the *dharma-vinaya* some gleanings of the historical figure of the Enlightened One, for they were well aware of the fact that there would be no Buddhism without the Buddha, the Founder of the Path.

A rough outline of the Buddha's life, in fragmentary form, of course, can be visualized in the main body of the Canon, although it is only in the latest parts of the Scriptures that we come across evident attempts made to construct a descriptive treatise on the life and lineage of the Buddha, which would be capable of "inspiring delight, removing sadness and bringing all fortune."[3]

As regards the Buddha's biography, the Mv. is of particular significance as a source of information. The text contains, as far as the biographical accounts are concerned, both the oldest forms of genuine tradition and exegetical elaborations of late origin, that grew along with the gradual development of the Buddha-concept. In earlier strata of this development, the Buddha is spoken of, and presented as, human, whereas in the successive stages of the growth of the so-called legend the human

figure of Gautama Śākyamuni is seen gradually being replaced by mythical imagery. This tendency to magnify the supernatural aspects attached to the Buddha's career on earth, which has found its way into the Mv. also, advanced in course of time to such an extent that some scholars of the last century did not hesitate to conclude that the whole story of the Buddha is based on mere mythology, and poetical fancy. Scholars began to express the opinion that it is "not impossible, after all, that Śākyamuni is an unreal being and that all that is related of him is as much a fiction as is that of his preceding migrations."[4] Even Senart, the renowned French savant was categorical in refuting the view that the biographical records of Gautama the Buddha are based on the authentic events concerning a historical personality, and considered the whole account as having originated in the ancient Sun-myth.[5] Kern also insisted on this interpretation.[6] The latest studies in literary and archaeological fields have, however, nullified this hyper-rationalistic hypothesis, and proved the basic historicity of the Great Teacher. Scholars do now generally believe that the Buddha existed in reality, but still maintain that the gorgeous narratives grown around the central point of actuality have derived from the legendary stock of invention.[7] And yet others, prone towards the alternative extremity in their attempts to justify and rationalize each and every part of the main story, advise the reader to avoid such 'scientific' interpretations.[8]

Many volumes are now available on this subject, writers of which have resorted to various methods of learning; comparative and comprehensive, rational and traditional, as well as critical and analytical. Even though their painstaking contributions in the field are highly praiseworthy, yet one has to look up the original sources for a free analysis, as is well stated by A. Foucher: "The European scholars have spoken well, but let us above all return to the Indian tradition."[9]

The Mv. would be of great utility in a critical study of the Buddha's life and mission as the main theme of this canonical text embodies a bulky collection of fragmentary records of the Tathāgata's life. It should be remarked that the sect of Lokottaravādins, to which the Mv. belongs, maintains that the Buddha was supra-mundane and his life on the earth was nothing more than mere conformity with the human habits.[10] But our authority

dealing with the story without giving much supramundane colour to the main body of it, hardly maintains, as we have already seen in the first Chapter, the uniformity of this theory.

It has been observed that the biographical accounts in the texts developed side by side with the growth of the Buddha-concept. In the oldest compositions, where such a concept scarcely shows any practical influence, the Teacher is presented as a human being endowed with supreme qualities. The Mv. with its traditional accounts, dogmatic expositions and multifarious interpolations, will contribute as much material to study that pristine form of the Enlightened One, as to construct a more popular mosaic of the marvellous life-story of the Master.

The Mv. in its present form does not differ from other sources with regard to the point that the Buddha's career on the earth was but the culmination of a solemn resolve made many long aeons ago, which was followed by numerous deeds of virtue and piety. The Buddha's life is not spoken of as a number of casual incidents limited to a single existence, but as an infinite series of births and rebirths which had taken place for innumerable *kalpas* through the cycle of transmigration. In traditional accounts this career runs back to an inconceivable length of time, including his *bodhisattva* and pre-*bodhisattva* stages.

Unlike the Pali sources, the Mv. divides this long career into four stages, which are termed as *caryā* (course of training).[11] The prolonged course of perfections (*pāramitā*) having reached its climax, the *bodhisattva* qualified for the attainment of Buddhahood took birth in the Tuṣita heaven, the fourth one of the six heavenly abodes. This heaven is generally supposed by all forms of tradition to be the proper and formal place for the penultimate birth of all bodhisattvas.[12] Our *bodhisattva* in Tuṣita heaven was known, according to our authority, as Śvetaketu.[13] Pali accounts call him Santuṣita,[14] whereas the AbhiS. adopts the name Jyotipāla.[15] During his comfortable sojourn in that heaven, he became the prominent figure as the spiritual light of the celestial beings. Surrounded by all kinds of happiness and comfort, he had no reason to worry, yet he was seen contemplating, the transience of the world being the central factor underlying his melancholy. This tendency becomes but natural in the light of his abundant merits of chastity, charity and wisdom accumulated through so many aeons.[16]

Departure from Tuṣita Heaven

Time had become ripe for the appearance of a Buddha. The *bodhisattva* himself was aware of the pitiful condition of the world which was more and more deteriorating day by day. Hence he resolves to be born among the human beings so that he may bring humanity back to its righteous way. It is important to notice that the Mv. ignores the so-called entreaty of the myriads of gods assembled from all around the many thousands of heavenly abodes. Other sources both Northern and Southern ascribe so much importance to the matter that it appears as though the *bodhisattva*'s resolution to descend to the earth would not have been made without this formal request. According to those annals, gods from all worlds congregated in the Tuṣita heaven and approached the *bodhisattva* with high praise and encouragement, for he was the being capable of becoming the Buddha.[17] Furthermore, we learn from the JN., there had arisen the premonitory Buddha-roar, declaring that the appearance of a Buddha was to take place; and the *bodhisattva*'s divine body was already showing inevitable signs of decay.[18]

The Mv. presents the story with a slight variance. The request of the gods does not precede the *bodhisattva*'s determination to be born in the human sphere. Instead, he is seen cogitating over the circumstances prevailing in the world of mortals, and out of pure compassion towards all beings he decides, without any stimulation from others, to appear in the world to become Enlightened.[19]

This independent modification may point towards the conception of Ādi-buddha,[20] an eternal Buddha who never becomes extinct and sends manifestations of himself when the world needs a Buddha.[21] We can detect how the theory of such an eternal Buddha is already in the making in the Mv. as it makes no mention of the premonitory signs appearing on the *bodhisattva*'s person.[22]

The *bodhisattva* decides to be born among human beings after the elapse of twelve years. This profound decision once made, Śuddhāvāsa gods come down to prepare the ground for his advent in the human sphere. They are easily imagined as rushing towards Jambudvīpa in the disguise of brahmins, in order to make the great revelation of physiognomy and the art of augury,[23] so that the diviners might correctly predict the future

destiny of the Great Being when he is born. Since no Pratyeka-buddha is supposed to exist during the lifetime and dispensation of a Perfect Buddha, all Pratyeka-buddhas were asked to vacate the Buddha-field, and consequently they enter *nirvāṇa* by immolating themselves.[24]

Now that the auspicious moment for the fulfilment of the great aspiration is imminent, the *bodhisattva* makes necessary observations as to the particulars relating to his final birth. These great investigations (*mahā-vilokana*), which are conventional to all *bodhisattvas* leaving the Tuṣita heaven for their ultimate existence, are four in number, *i.e.* the Continent (*dvīpa*), the country (*deśa*), the time (*kāla*) and the family (*kula*).[25] The Pali version adds to this list a fifth one which pertains to the mother's lifespan.[26] Although this last is not specified in the Mv. as a point of observation, yet the text does realize its importance, and the *bodhisattva* surveys the life expectancy of his future mother and decides that she must have only ten months and seven days of her life remaining on the occasion of his conception.[27]

Along with the details of these investigations we are directed, as Foucher has remarked at length,[28] to recognize the realistic touch of the legend. Historicity by degrees replaces the legendary imagination, though the latter never retires into complete oblivion throughout the story. The reader follows the *bodhisattva*, from the supernatural abode of Tuṣita to a historical place and people, as the radiating divine eyes of Śvetaketu set on the real entities of our planet.

The results of the Great Observation are indeed in accordance with the *bodhisattva*'s earlier resolve to be born on the earth after twelve years. Jambudvīpa was entitled to be the highest among the four Continents in which alone the Buddhas are born, and therein too, only in the Middle Country.[29] The time also appeared most suitable for the advent of the Exalted One, as the human lifespan is at this particular period neither too long nor too short.

The significance of the Great Observation underlies the main purport of the Buddha's career, *viz.* setting the Wheel of the Law in motion. An Enlightened One is required in order to show the path of emancipation to the masses who can be expected to follow him only when the circumstances are favour-

able. Jambūdvīpa, the inhabitants of which are said to have been intelligent, is no doubt the most suitable Continent for the Buddha's appearance, and the Middle Country (*madhya-deśa*), where so much of heresy and mumbo-jumbo prevails,[30] would be the most benefitted if the great event took place within the marches of that land.[31] A similar explanation is forwarded in respect of the third survey of time, according to which the *bodhisattva* especially considers the prevailing time because people cannot understand the Truth based on the realities of life and death when their lifespan is unusually long or short.[32]

If the Buddha is to hail from a backward family, nobody would care for what he preaches and hence an Enlightened One is always to be born in the highest caste of the day.[33]

The Mv. strangely passing over the explanations of the first three observations, hurries to elaborate the result of the fourth one, namely, the caste and qualities of the family in which the *bodhisattva* was to be born. Enthusiastic biographers, always subject as they are to the limitations of time and and, in their *plan* to make the legend sublime and incomparable, entirely overlooked the fact that caste was never given the slightest importance in the letter and spirit of Buddhist teaching. If the Buddhas are forever to be born only in the highest caste, that would certainly be an indirect acceptance of the caste theory with all its prejudices and deficiencies, and it would imply a universal caste practice that always exists without change or evolution. This might be understood as nothing more than yet another conformity with human conditions, but the fact that the biographers of the Master let themselves be overwhelmed by unjustifiable and detrimental theories of the caste institution appears to a modern mind as the exact antithesis of what is preached and practised by the Buddha. Still the idea seems to have been in vogue even at the nascent stage of the legend, as it retains its validity in all schools of Buddhist thought.[34]

The blessed family of the *bodhisattva* is required to possess certain qualities which emphasize its prosperity, morality, religious adherence and social reputation. Our text bears two lists of these special qualities with virtually no difference. They are sixty in number.[35] One remarkable feature in this list is the reference to the family's religious attitude. The family is said to have been renowned for being virtuous and devout,

honouring shrines, *devas* and ancestors, and respecting elders, Brāhmaṇas and *śramaṇas*.[36]

Śuddhodana, the king of Kapilavastu, appears to be the most desirable one for the fatherhood of the future Buddha, his being the family that was endowed with those qualities required in full. The bodhisattva does not however recall proclamations (*vyākaraṇa*) of former Buddhas wherein he was predestined to be born in the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu, though it would have provided an additional justification of his choice of family. Śuddhodana's singular qualification for the privileged position was, according to the Mv., that he was the head of the family as well as of the clan. It was only in still later periods that the fatherhood of a Buddha also assumed the form of a special boon, an aspirant of which was required to dedicate himself to the sincere practice of morality for a definite course of time.

Time, Country and Family being thus settled, the *bodhisattva* contemplates his future mother. No one needs become jealous of his privilege of being able to determine his future parents and even time of birth, for he, as a *bodhisattva*, had the *ex opicio* right to do so. Māyā (or Mahā-māyā) was selected for that noble *rôle* after a separate observation[37] which stressed her personality and age limit. She was found to be gracious, of good birth, and flawless in health as well as in character. The tradition is unanimous that hers should be an excellent moral character.[38] The text maintains that Māyā was chosen for the honourable state of motherhood on the sole consideration of her impeccable character plus limited age.[39] In Tibetan authorities, however, she is said to have been predicted to bear a child who would become the most illustrious in the world, and it was on this ground that Śuddhodana sought to espouse her.[40] The Southern School informs us that she was two years younger than her husband, the King.[41]

A sceptic trend seems to dominate some of the modern writings on the point of the historicity of the names of the Buddha's parents.[42] The oldest parts of the Scriptures, it is true, do not mention these names, but it is likewise true that those parts do not at all deal with the subject of biographical details about the Buddha. It cannot be concluded that only legendary parts of the Tipiṭaka which belong to a later phase of chronology, mention Śuddhodana and Mahā-māyā as the Buddha's parents.

Vinaya texts have preserved the living memory of the genuine tradition according to which Śuddhodana was the Buddha's father and Mahā-prajāpati Gotamī, foster-mother,[43] Māyā, her sister having died after the child's birth. Our text too, maintains the uniformity of these names throughout the volume as factual entities.[44] "It would indeed be inconceivable", to quote Oldenberg, "that a correct memory of the most important names of the persons round Buddha and of certain leading public events in his life ceased to preserve within a century after his death.".[45]

The *bodhisattva* made his great preparations for descending to the world of mortal beings as the time for his departure drew nearer. It is still legend, not history, but these preparations should be taken notice of as they exhibit the view-point of later compilers. The whole career of the Buddha was, in their opinion, an entirely predestined one, and it could not have been otherwise. Bimbisāra and Udayana, two powerful monarchs contemporary with the Buddha, were asked to be born in Rājagṛha and Kauśāmbī respectively,[46] and many others like Ghoṣila[47] were also bidden to take birth in various provinces of Jambūdvīpa.[48] While these preparations were being made in the Tuṣita heaven, the background for the grand occurrence becomes complete in the city of Kapilavastu. Māyā the chief consort of the king of the Śākyan province approaches her husband to obtain his consent to observe a chaste life, and expresses her wish "to spend the night away from the king."[49]

The LV. insists on the point that she obtained this permission for the duration of a full week,[50] and this counts for the statement of Pali accounts that the celebrations of the annual Midsummer Festival was on at that time. It was, following the Pali tradition, a grand festivity lasting for a full week during which the whole populace of the land joined together to entertain themselves. Māyā, befitting her chaste and noble character, did not indulge in fun and frolic, and took the vow to observe the eight precepts.[51] Our own authority says that she observed morality consisting of eleven rules in number.[52]

Māyā thus being perfectly pure and sanctified, whiled away the time on an excellent bed in the mansion of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.[53] The text describes in a highly coloured poetical way how the king had arranged all comforts for the queen.

Despite minor variations in legendary details, all sources are unanimous on two points. Firstly Māyā was on that particular day observing chastity, and secondly she was sleeping on her right side, the side from which the *bodhisattva* was scheduled to enter her womb.[54]

The question whether the *bodhisattva*'s conception was immaculate or not has to a certain extent been a point of discussion. As to the idea of the Mother's virginity, it has to be noted that it never arose in the minds of the students of Buddhism until exhaustive studies on the Buddha's life and legend, launched by Western scholarship with its own background of Christian ideology, made the issue a subject worthy of lengthy discussions. In our text, as in all other Buddhist texts,[55] we do not find any implication to the effect that the queen had been a virgin. On the contrary, she is said to have enjoyed a happy married life with Śuddhodana the king.[56] A certain passage in the Mv. is regarded by scholars as insisting on her virginity,[57] but it is crystal-clear that the queen requested the king, as Dr. Thomas has already pointed out[58] not to entertain any carnal thought only for that particular night. She is, however, described as not possessing any sensual feeling and leading a pure, completely perfect and chaste life throughout.[59] This isolated reference, which is neither substantiated nor adopted by other authorities might be passed as an independent speculation of the traditional view that the mothers of the *bodhisattvas* do become, by way of a rule of decorum, rid of passion and live an "unimpaired, flawless, unspotted, untarnished and absolutely pure and chaste"[60] life ever after the *bodhisattvas*' occupying their womb.

The notion of Māyā's virginity is hence out of the question, and as such, L. de la Vallée Poussin's view that the idea owes its inspiration to Christian sources[61] does not seem to gain much weight. In spite of all worthy attempts to establish relations between Buddhism and Christianity, though on the ground of striking similarities, we are still not in a position to put forward a definite conclusion in the matter, and are compelled to treat the question as an issue that still demands a thorough study unstained of bias and preoccupations from either side. Foucher is perhaps right when he observes the futility of 'all vain polemics, pro and con, as to which influenced which'.[62]

The *bodhisattva* is no doubt allowed to have the honour of claiming a parthogenetic birth, for all accounts admit in common that Śuddhodana had no active *rôle* in the process of the *bodhisattva*'s conception. He is absent from the scene of the *bodhisattva*'s descent, both scriptural and sculptural, though he was privileged to call the *bodhisattva* his son.[63] In pictorial depictions of the event Māyā is seen lying alone attended just by a few females,[64] whereas the Scripture would make the point-blank declaration that the *bodhisattva*'s conception was by far and large an unparalleled event. It is placed as one of the marvellous attributes of the Buddha's life, which are not shared by Pratyeka-buddhas, nor by saints, nor by disciples, and much less by average men.[65]

In point of fact, the conception of a human being is possible only when three conditions are fulfilled : "That the father and mother be united in love, that the mother be in a fertile period; and that a spirit be free at that time."[66] But as the *bodhisattva* is always above the practices and obligations of common folk, he is not supposed to care if the circumstances are favourable or not.[67] Furthermore, the text announces in clear terms that the Buddha's corporeal existence is not due to the sexual union of parents, although he could point to his father and mother.[68] Foucher remarks that the hagiography grown out of later dogmatic developments would have presented the Buddha as having been born spontaneously in a marvellous lotus, had it been possible to dismiss the mother, too, as the father was done away with.[69] Taking into account the fact that the tradition prefers such inventions wherever it is possible, we may thank the *bodhisattva* for choosing a human mother who would categorically contribute to the preservation of the realistic touch of the Buddha's biography.

Now that the proper background for the *bodhisattva*'s descent is set and all preliminaries are gone through, celestial beings come to make their formal request to the Great Being to 'enter upon the last existence'.[70] The most important occurrence of the *bodhisattva*'s divine mission, for which he had been looking forward since time immemorial, is now going to take place. Bidding farewell to all fellow denizens in the heaven, he disappeared from that celestial abode of happy sojourn, and straight-forward descended to the royal palace of Kapilavastu.[71]

Taking leave from the Tuṣita heaven is presented in the Mv. in a less ceremonial way, and the fact that it omits the colourful scene of the *bodhisattva*'s placing his crown on the head of Maitreya,[72] a superfluous accretion in which scholars detect the possible Occidental influence,[73] brings it closer to the Pali version of the legend.[74]

Queen Māyā, lying on the royal couch attended by escorts representing both celestial and terrestrial enthusiasm in the great event, had an unusual dream coeval to the *bodhisattva*'s departure from the heaven and conceiving in her womb. She dreamt, to repeat another common legendary feature, "a noble elephant, light of step, flawless of limb, gleaming like snow-white silver, with six tusks, a gracefully waving trunk and a crimson head, enter her womb."[75]

The importance of the context, which is limited to a single short *gāthā* in the Mv. lies in its affinity to an early stage of the legendary embellishments grown around the plain history of the Buddha's life. The Pali tradition evidently unsatisfied with the simplicity of this relatively early idea brings the four Cardinal Gods to carry her to the Himālayas where she was given a sumptuous bath whereafter the symbolic elephant, descending in a much more celebrated way, enters the womb in a golden tabernacle.[76] Here we can trace one of the features common to the two traditions of the Southern and Northern schools, namely, the fanciful idea of supreme sanctity which in the LV. developed into the law of the jewel casket (*ratna-vyūha*).[77] In the Pali tradition the bodhisattva enters the womb already wrapped up in a golden sheath, whereas the LV. would go a step further to create a jewelled tabernacle occupying Māyā's womb beforehand.

The pious intention of the generous attribution is quite clear. How could it be possible that the *bodhisattva*, of sublime beauty and purity, and descending from heaven, remained ten complete months in a filthy human uterus? The Mv. on its part opines that the *bodhisattva* remained unblemished of uterine impurities, "not polluted by bile, phlegm, blood or any other foul matter", and was always clean.[78] Still the fact that the *bodhisattva* in our text is not entitled to any sheath for protection against human filth suggests that it represents a somewhat pristine form of biography, preserved in the older tradition. This is

further confirmed by the compilers' silence regarding the fantastic elixir brought daily by Brahmā as the *bodhisattva*'s nourishment.[79]

How the legendary idea of a fancy dream came into being, it is hard to say with certainty. Aśvaghoṣa's poem gives little importance to the dream, and consequently it is not defined either, but the *bodhisattva* is said to have assumed the form of an elephant on his departure from the Tuṣita heaven.[80] Foucher wonders how an animal of such dimensions as shown in some sculptural representations could enter Māyā's body'.[81] An apparent confusion arises indeed when we find that the tradition is quite ambiguous in this context, for it describes the elephant as a mere dream and at the same time as an actuality, too. Gods and human disciples likewise praise the *bodhisattva*'s descent in the guise of an elephant which Māyā actually happened to bear.[82] That the dream appears to have meant, at any rate, only the symbolization of an abstract idea is given more weight by the repeated statement that Māyā had a dream while the bodhisattva entered her womb.[83] The Chinese annals inform us that the elephant indicates 'power and wisdom'[84] whereas the AbhidhK. tries to satisfy our curiosity by stating that the representing of the elephant as an actuality is nothing more than poetry.[85]

Following our authority, it was on the full moon night in the month of Puṣa (December-January) that the *bodhisattva* entered the mother's womb.[86] The exact date and month, and year too, are to remain controversial as the texts record different dates regarding the event. Pali authorities would have us believe that it was the full moon day of Uttarāṣāḍha (June-July),[87] whereas the LV. is inclined to place the event as having occurred in the month of Vaiśākha (April-May).[88] The AbhiS. records that he departed from the Tuṣita heaven on a pleasant day in the opening month of Spring.[89]

A number of miraculous phenomena manifested themselves at the auspicious moment. The most common feature of these miracles and prognostics, which seems to have been accepted from the earliest period of legend is represented by the illumination appearing throughout the world, nay, the universe, and the earthquake.[90] They are regarded as conventional miracles that inevitably constitute a necessary part of the formal process

of the great events in the Buddha's life, such as the conception, the birth, the Enlightenment and so on.[91] Our text is silent about the thirty-two prognostics enumerated in the Pali tradition as necessarily connected with these occurrences.[92] The LV. speaks of eight premonitory signs that became explicit on the occasion.[93]

Thousands of *koṭis* of all mythical beings representing the supernatural forces of *devas*, *asuras*, *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, and *rākṣasas* are brought to Kapilavastu to protect the *bodhisattva* against danger from any melevolent antagonist.[94] The legend gives us the impression that no sooner the *bodhisattva* was conceived than the evil power assumed the task of creating obstacles for him and making audacious attempts to nip him in the bud, whereupon supra-human beings were alerted to undertake the responsibility of hindering Māra.[95] How could these non-human beings who were by no means superior to the *bodhisattva*, extend their protection to him against Māra? Reciters of the ancient tradition probably sensed the absurdity of such a statement, and thus we are told in the Commentary of the MN. that supernatural powers were employed only to remove the fears of Māyā.[96]

Next morning, the queen approaches the king with the splendid news that she had a great unusual dream. Diviners were consulted according to the prevalent custom. The tradition maintains that those invited were sixty-four brahmins of deep learning and experience,[97] who suggested two possibilities for the being who had entered the womb in such a glorious manner. He would either become a Universal Ruler or renounce worldly pleasures in order to become the Buddha Supreme. The dream was introduced particularly with the view of settling once for all the future of the Predestined One, and as human limitations proved incapable of presenting the correct interpretation in a convincing way, our text invites Mahā-brahmā to come into the picture and declare that the embryo will certainly become a Buddha.[98]

As the mother of the *bodhisattva*, Māyā was required to have been endowed with certain extraordinary qualities, without which she would not be counted as bearing a great son. Hence the theory of *mātṛ-dharmatā* came into being, elevating Māya herself into a unique and supreme status.[99] Though she is

not given in the Buddhist belief a status of religious significance equal to that of Mary in Christianity,[100] yet she is the mother par excellence.

The *bodhisattva*'s status is all the more superb. Interesting as it is, the dogmatic-minded expounders of the supreme career became for a moment forgetful of their outstanding theory of the Buddha's being supramundane. It was in conformity with the general course of life of mankind, as the theory maintains, that the Buddha bides himself by the normal habits and requirements of humanity. Though, according to that theory, the *bodhisattva* ought to have followed the common and natural procedure of gestation and nativity, yet he is said to have assumed an absolutely uncommon and supernatural status all through that period.[101]

In general it would take eight or nine months for a foetus to be fully developed, but the *bodhisattva* is not at all required to pass through those usual stages of growth,[102] for he has entered the womb in a body with limbs completely developed, and what is more, marked with thirty-two auspicious signs of a super-man.[103] Descended into the mother's womb with full consciousness, the *bodhisattva* does not fail to occupy the best position which is neither too high, nor too low, and sits in the mother's right side with his legs crossed.[104] The accounts describe how the *bodhisattva* remained in a "thoughtful, self-possessed and right-minded state" at conception, throughout the period of gestation, and at birth. This is counted as another characteristic phenomenon which is shared by the Buddhas only.[105]

The Mv. fervently elaborates how Māyā was entitled to the sedulous attendance of superhuman beings whose greatest responsibility of the day it was to sanctify her with the choicest qualities of divine perfumes and unguents. Despite this extraordinary treatment, our reciters could not forget the bare fact that she was after all but a human being, whence they lay stress on the statement that the Great Being had his body rubbed with perfumes and washed clean while he was passing through the prescribed period of gestation. The Pali tradition, though not left behind in exalting the uncommon supremacy of the *bodhisattva*, merely states only that Māyā's womb was pure and sacred like the interior of a *cetiya*.[106]

Birth

The period of ten months rolled by, and Māyā now prepares for delivery. Here again we find both uniformity and diversity among the different sources and we come across another example of the usual admixture of history and legend. Texts are in full harmony as to the name of the mother, Māyā or Mahā-māyā, but they are not equally unanimous with respect to her family line. Our authority maintains that her father was known as Subhūti the Śākyan.[107] Some other sources record her father's name was Suprabuddha the Koliyan of Devadaha,[108] whereas the Pali annals are certain that he was none other than Añjana the Śākyan, whose wife Sulakṣaṇā bore Māyā.[109] Whatever her father's name might be, that she hailed from Devadaha is generally admitted by all.

The accounts relating to the *bodhisattva*'s birth are of varying authenticity and exemplify how poetical genius motivated by religious conviction and piety succeeds in creating stories around simple historical facts. The Mv. embodies two versions of the *bodhisattva*'s birth, which took place in the pleasure gardens on the outskirts of Kapilavastu. One version follows the ancient tradition to record how Māyā, expected to deliver at her own native place, received a call from her parents to come home.[110] This version with its reference to the famous *sāla* tree may owe its origin to an older stock of oral tradition to which the Pali compilers also had access. The Pali version is definite that she had set out for her hometown,[111] although there is no mention of such a call from her parents. It is not difficult to understand how Māyā, on the way to her parents, entered the Lumbini garden with a view to entertain herself and how she happened to deliver the baby at the same spot.

In the other account of the story recorded in our text, Māyā is represented as wishing to visit Lumbini on an excursion (*udyāna-gamana-buddhiḥ utpannā me*)[112] and the call from home is omitted. The ground for the recast is quite intelligible and the idea is given a complete twist in the LV. when it announces that she intentionally visited the gardens so that the delivery might take place in those graceful surroundings.[113]

Śuddhodana orders that appropriate arrangements be made for the royal excursion by cleaning the garden thoroughly and making it lovely in all aspects. Should we ignore the typical

description of the divine contribution to the ensuing great occurrence, still the text gives us a reasonable impression that the garden was thoroughly enhanced in beauty on that occasion. Pali sources also agree that the garden of Lumbini was in full bloom, its trees laden with flowers, and the groves resonant with the lovely songs of birds, but this was caused by the felicity of Nature, the season being Spring.[114] What we gather from these different accounts is that on the way to Devadaha Māyā noticed the charming beauty of the grove and decided to spend just a while there. Or may be she entered the gardens purposely, knowing that her moment was soon approaching.[115]

Later efforts to present the Master's life as an entirely predestined one resulted in the change of a simple fact into a romantic prodigy. How could she bring forth the child so mighty and sublime in a garden where she had no prior plans to do so? Trying to circumvent the undeniable fact, the imaginative urge of the pious authority found itself busy resorting to legendary features. This accounts for the grand entourage of friends, servants and several thousands of fourfold army, in addition to a greater number of mythical beings.[116] And then it was not for Devadaha, but exactly for the Lumbini grove that Māyā departed. She is depicted as being in a playful mood out in the gardens,[117] but this seems unusual for a lady on the verge of delivery. The annalists forgot the real destination altogether, their minds being deluged with overflowing enthusiasm to make the event unparalleled. That the expected destination was not Lumbini can be conjectured, however, by the king's order to stop the queen and take her back.[118]

The garden Lumbini (sometimes called Lumba) is believed to have been situated between Kapilavastu and Devadaha. Hieuen Tsiang informs us that the garden was at a distance of fifty li (9 or 10 miles) to the east of Kapilavastu.[119] Tibetan annals tell us that the garden was so named after the name of the wife of Suprabuddha.[120] On the strength of Hieuen Tsiang's transcription of the name, *i.e. la-fa-ni*, Watters and Beal are inclined to restore the name as Lavani (beautiful woman).[121] Further they pointed out that the locality is still known to the local inhabitants as Rummin-dei, to which Dr Thomas objects by saying that such a name is not found in use.[122] Aśoka's inscription (244 B.C.) found in the heart of the Nepalese Terai,

thirteen miles south-west of Nigliva has been helpful to identify the place of the great event.

Entering the garden, escorted by maidens and possibly by a few royal counsellors,[123] she spent a moment there, and while having a stroll, got hold of the branch of a certain tree. It is of course not very important to be specific about the tree, a branch of which she happened to get hold of at the decisive moment. Several names are given in the texts, the discrepancy of which points to their uncertainty in relation to the minor details. Our own authority forwards two names, *viz. sāla* and *plakṣa*.[124] Pali sources leave no room to doubt that it was a *sāla* tree,[125] whereas in the LV. we are assured that the destined tree was no other than a *plakṣa*.[126] The Divy. preserves a third name, *aśoka*, the tree which was shown to Emperor Aśoka as the historical point of attraction at Lumbini.[127] In later times the Chinese pilgrims would see the same Aśoka tree, pointed to them by local guides as the noble tree under which the *bodhisattva* was born.[128] Aśvaghoṣa pays no attention whatsoever to the existence of a tree.[129]

These different names suggest that the original tradition was not specific about the particular tree connected with the event. In the story of Dīpaṅkar's birth[130] we notice that no name of the tree is mentioned. Buddhaghosa explains the name *sāla* as meaning either a tree of the *sāla* species or any other tree (*yo koci rukkho'pi*).[131] It may be added here that the Sanskrit lexicons indicate that both *sāla* and *palāśa* (=*plakṣa*?) are synonymous of a tree.[132]

The orthodox tradition would have us believe that Māyā had no difficulty at all at the moment of delivery. We find Māyā standing as the child was brought forth, and the *bodhisattva* emerging directly out of the mother's belly, in order to avoid the overwhelming filth of the vaginal passage.[133] Modern scholars have observed the fact that "the oldest accounts of Buddha's ancestry appear to presuppose nothing abnormal about his birth."[134] The popular account of the birth preserved in the texts is, however, supported by the pictorial representations as well. Māyā is depicted standing, grasping the tree-branch with ease, while the *bodhisattva* with fully developed limbs descends from her right flank. Indra and Brahmā make the scene still superb by their presence, and the

royal umbrella and fly-whisk signify the regal aspect of the occurrence.[135]

A procession of formalities and miraculous manifestations follow. Our text, as it would spare no available source worth compiling, does not give us a clear idea as to the order of events. According to the Pali tradition the four Great Lords received the infant as he 'stepped down', and then human hands were allowed to hold him.[136] The LV. gives the credit to Śakra and Brahmā Sahāpati who welcomed the Great Being, taking him in silken shawls, whence men received him.[137] The BC. adopts another version in which Indra alone enjoys the privilege of being the first to receive him.[138]

The Mv. deviates from the commonly accepted order in this regard, and seems to be confused with its collections of tautological character. No sooner the *bodhisattva* was born than he set foot on the earth, and, without caring to give the glorious guests the chance for any sumptuous reception, made the famous stride of seven steps.[139] The *bodhisattva* took the seven strides because, as the tradition explains, he had been tired with his stay in the womb.[140]

Nymphs rush in great numbers to the scene for assistance and admiration, and the four Great Lords (*loka-pāla*) attended by their retinues manifest their magnanimous presence to enhance the serenity and glory of the moment.[141] Although superhuman help was thus readily available, Māyā had not to look for help because she was not to experience the slightest pain in bringing forth the noble son. The marvellous circumstance underlies, according to the scholiasts of Buddhism, the fact that the *bodhisattva* was born in a self-possessed and mindful state,[142] which was the necessary outcome of the phenomenon that the delivery was not followed by the labour pains which makes the *bodhisattva* come out upside down, through the natural channel.[143]

The Mv. is not precise about the date of the *bodhisattva*'s birth. According to the Sinhala tradition it was a Tuesday, the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha (April-May).[144] Others hold the blessed event as taking place under the constellation of Puṣya,[145] on the eighth day in the second month of Spring.[146] Ceylonese chronicles give the traditional date which is placed in the year 623 B. C.[147] Another calculation has given us the

date as being 7th April 624 B. C.,[148] whereas European scholars prefer the year 563 B. C. as more probable.[149]

The *bodhisattva* appeared from the right side of Māyā,[150] the same side from which he entered the womb ten months earlier. The devout authors of the Buddha's biography could not bear the idea that the Great Being should come down through the normal process of birth besmeared with uterine impurities. The Pali tradition also consolidates the Mv. theory of the extraordinary birth of the *bodhisattva*. Whether the seven steps were taken before or after the bath, it is not clear to us, and the diversity of tradition seems to encumber the account of the *bodhisattva*'s progress. After taking the seven mighty strides under the sun-shade and the fly-whisk which would protect him against gad-flies and gnats,[151] he scanned all the regions before making the solemn announcement that he would hereinafter be the best and greatest among all living beings. In the Pali version and the LV. the observation of all directions precedes the stroll.[152] What seems noticeable is that both the Mv. and the Pali versions representing the older stratum of the story observe silence regarding the celebrated manifestation of lotus flowers on the track of the *bodhisattva*. It is the genius of later narrators[153] that provides a grand lotus under the delicate foot of the *bodhisattva*. In course of time, the Southern tradition also had the due influence of this charming accretion, and subsequently it became an indispensable feature in the legend.[154] However, the Mv. and the older Pali accounts are adopted by sculptors through centuries as a subject for their fine pictorial representations of the Buddha's life.[155]

The Great Being exhibits his amazing ability to laugh and speak as soon as he was born. In Pali texts his short and meaningful declaration that he would be the Supreme One[156] is extolled, but our text seems to ascribe much more importance to his laughter, probably on account of its scornful challenge to the supporters of Māra.[157] It is not surprising that the devout compilers thought it would seem befitting the *boddhisattva* if he would introduce himself to the world with a thunderous laughter (*mahā-hāsa*) rather than with a helpless cry as an average child. And then he declares : "This, at length, is my very last existence."[158]

While all these marvellous scenes were being enacted in the

vicinity of the *plakṣa* or *sāla* tree, attendants hastened to find water for the customary bath of the newly born baby. Water was found ready at hand, in the form of two streams of cold and warm water.[159] The scene of the bath, traditionally attributed to the two *nāga* brothers, Nanda and Upananda,[160] is one of the motifs that had gained popularity among sculptors during the early centuries of the Christian Era.[161]

Why was such a bath necessary? It is true that the *bodhisattva* was clean and pure, says the tradition, unblemished by uterine impurities, resembling a lotus grown out of the surface of the water,[162] yet the usual formalities were to be gone through. To have a bath was nothing more than mere conformity with human customs.[163]

Simultaneously with the *bodhisattva*'s nativity certain things manifest themselves, and certain persons were born. The number of these items and persons was no exception to the general law of growth with the passage of time. In the Mv. there are two independent references to them. The first one, abrupt and incomplete, mentions only two things, *i.e.* the bodhi tree and the forest of sandal-wood trees.[164] In the second list we find an attractive series of items, each consisting of a similar number, *viz.* five hundred young Śākyans headed by Sundarananda, five hundred maidens headed by Yaśodharā,[165] five hundred servants headed by Chandaka, five hundred horses headed by Kanthaka, and five hundred elephants headed by Candana. Five hundred treasures appeared, and five hundred kings sent their greetings.[166] Following the Pali tradition, we find references to seven *sahajātas* (born-together), namely, the bodhi tree, Yaśodharā, the four great treasures, the elephant, Kanthaka the horse, Channa and Kāludāyī.[167] Tibetan sources add to this the four princes who were born simultaneously in Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Ujjayinī, and Kauśāmbī, the four powerful royal cities,[168] in accordance with the instructions received by them in their previous existence in the Tuṣita heaven. Needless to say that the lists testify to the attempts to make predestined even the lives of the close associates of the Buddha.

Māyā was not destined to see the bright future of her glorious son. All schools of Buddhist tradition are irrevocable that she died exactly seven days after the prince was born. It was not to be otherwise, by way of implementing the inexorable law

concerning the mothers of all *bodhisattvas*, past, present and future.[169] Why is such a pathetic fate imposed on her? Thanks to the ever-reasoning talent of the devoted compilers, we need not go far to find justifications for her death. The long and short of the unconvincing arguments, advanced in a somewhat gauche manner, is that she has to die lest she might stigmatize the sublime career of the Buddha by impudent endeavour to indulge in carnal pleasures. The Buddha would proclaim the depravity of sensual desires, and it would not look nice if the Master's own mother defied the validity of his teaching.[170]

So that is it. The text would have us believe that it would be quite absurd if the mother herself were to entertain human lust while her son, the Conqueror, was to set an example by abjuring all sensual pleasures and preaching the complete annihilation of cravings. This was under no circumstance permissible, and as such, let her rather sacrifice her own life on the altar of the future honour of the Buddha. Pali tradition also adopts the same view-point when it states that the womb occupied by the *bodhisattva* is so holy that no other being can be conceived therein.[171] Commentators maintain that the mothers of *bodhisattvas* are obliged to die after giving birth to the illustrious sons, which regularly occurs in the third phase of their middle age.[172]

Could she not retain any longer the chastity that is said to have been in effect ever since the *bodhisattva* entered her womb? We are repeatedly told that she fervently observed the vow of celibacy right down from the moment the Great Being chose her to be his future mother. According to the AbhiS. Māyā had already expressed in unmistakable terms her resolution to abstain from worldly enjoyments.[173] It is beyond our comprehension why it was destined that she should vanish into oblivion despite all these assurances. The argument would seem even more fallacious in view of the possibility that Śuddhodana was also liable to the same charge as he lives for many years to come. The LV. probably aware of this awkwardness of the whole argument, forwards another reason, according to which Māyā had better expire early lest her heart be broken on the occasion of the Great Renunciation.[174] Chinese sources corroborate this justification, and add that in the opinion of some scholars

she passed away due to the excessive joy experienced on witnessing the marvellous phenomena manifested on the occasion of the child's birth.[175]

From the critical point of view, however, it appears more feasible that Māyā may have died on account of the unusual procedure of the delivery. The repeated statement that the *bodhisattva* emerged from the right flank of the mother has led some modern inquisitors to surmise that the birth was preceded by some sort of surgery, which consequently caused Māyā's death.[176] It is interesting to notice how eagerly our narrators try to establish that the birth did not in the least cause pain, and that the mother was absolutely safe. Due to the great power of the *bodhisattva*, thus follows the tradition, the mother was without injury or scar, and her womb, unscathed and at ease.[177] As the biographers were certain that the *bodhisattva* had been fully developed in the womb, they were anxious to emphasize a smooth and easy delivery, lest the *bodhisattva* should be charged with causing a great deal of pain to his mother, and thence leading her to a premature death. Our text, being the authority of the Lokottaravādins, finds a reasonable footing to extol the Buddha's supra-mundane quality. According to this theory, the mother was not injured because the Tathāgata was born "with a body that was made of mind".[178]

In spite of all these arguments and theories, the fact remains. She died of course at an early date of the *bodhisattva*'s infancy, but there is no need to feel sorry for her on this account, as she is immediately reborn in that heaven of Trāyastriṃśa or Tuṣita. After all, she was not to breathe her last on the spot, and was brought to the palace, along with the baby, in a grand procession. The LV. detains her in the Lumbinī gardens for a whole week,[180] but the Mv. and the Southern tradition do not substantiate such a prolonged celebration on the spot. She was taken back to Kapilavastu, the procession being attended by the people of the two cities of Devadaha and Kapilavastu.[181] Our authorities take delight in magnifying how superhuman beings of high rank came to carry her palanquin,[182] while many other celestial beings sang the *bodhisattva*'s praises.

In Kapilavastu

An interesting episode unknown to the Pali sources, is illustrated

as having taken place on the way to the palace; and the incident finds mention in all Northern versions of the story as it was to settle once for all the *bodhisattva*'s supremacy over all living beings, human and superhuman. The text presents the picture of a local temple, where the idol of the goddess Abhayā was worshipped.[183] On Śuddhodana's command, the infant *bodhisattva* was taken to this place in order to make the baby pay due homage to the ancestral gods and goddesses. Despite all supernatural wonders and miraculous signs that had been explicit since the holy conception of the *bodhisattva*, Śuddhodana was still not prepared to recognize the obvious fact that his son was far superior to all gods. Nothing less than a solid miracle would convince the incredulous father, and hence the *bodhisattva*, though unwilling (*akāmo*) consented to offer no resistence.[184] Once the infant was taken to the temple, the ministers tried to make him pay obeisance at the feet of the goddess, but lo, the idol itself became animated and lay prostrate before the *bodhisattva* who promptly stretched his small feet towards her.[185] Not only did Abhayā worship the distinguished being, but she also gave an explanation for her unusual behaviour : "If he should make obeisance to anyone", she exclaimed, "that one's head would assuredly be split in seven".[186]

Tibetan annals further inform us that the *bodhisattva* was bestowed on that very occasion with two epithets of Devātideva and Śākyamuni.[187] Pali biographers are unfamiliar with this interlude, but the basic purport of the story, *i.e.* to establish the supremacy of the Master, even as an infant, over man and gods is not overlooked by that tradition. That all beings, however powerful and magnanimous they may be, should respect the *bodhisattva* who in his turn is not obliged to respect anybody is more vividly, or rather more rationally, emphasized in Southern versions relating to the visit of Asita the sage.

The newly born child was given a suitable name according to the prevalent custom of the day. A formal name-giving ceremony may have taken place, we may well guess, but neither our text, nor any other source makes reference to such an event. Pali sources record how a grand function took place on the fifth day from the *bodhisattva*'s birth, and how one hundred and eight Brāhmaṇas were fed, rewarded and respected on that occasion,[188] but the account makes no reference to the form-

ality of giving a name to the baby. Brahmins were invited to the royal palace, but they were nowhere asked, as was the case in Dīpaṅkara the Buddha's story,[189] to baptize the young prince. Instead the king himself is represented as naming the *bodhisattva* as Sarvārtha-siddha,[190] since all his wishes were fulfilled as soon as the latter was born.[191]

The LV. which would not have missed a single point of elaboration and praise also makes no mention of such a ceremony. Śuddhodana named his son, according to that authority, even before the procession reached the royal palace.[192]

The authenticity of this name has been, however, called in question in modern times, as the name sounds too meaningful and symmetrical. Max Müler surmised that the name was probably of late origin.[193] Sarvārtha-siddha (he who has accomplished all his wishes) was "a natural title to be applied by his disciples to the Buddha", to quote E. J. Thomas, "and it may naturally be inferred that a mere epithet has been converted into a proper name."[194]

It is not at all improbable that a devout appellation for the Buddha might have been substituted for the proper name of the Teacher, but in that case it becomes unintelligible why his personal name should vanish altogether, without leaving the faintest trace behind. Except his family name, Gotama, he must have possessed a personal name which was surely known to many, and which would not have been allowed to go into oblivion. Siddhārtha is by no means a strange name so unusual as to conclude that a father in the sixth century B.C. would not be likely to choose that name for his beloved son.[195] Moreover, it cannot be overlooked that the parents and relatives of the Enlightened One used to call him by that name, as the texts invariably show.[196] And we scarcely find the name ever used by his disciples in the form of an epithet to denote the Buddha. The name cannot be dismissed as an invention simply because it has a meaning. And again, it may be remembered here that the literal sense of names, regardless of their origin, usually attracted the aesthetical genius of Indian poets,[197] and thus it becomes likewise possible that the meaning of the name invited the scholiast to find an origin and etymology to the Buddha's name.[198]

It is to be mentioned here that the name Śākyamuni also

shows a remarkable close association with the Enlightened One's picture. It is this name that is always assigned to him by the previous Buddhas in their proclamations.[199] The Buddha is frequently seen referred to in ancient inscriptions by the name Śākyamuni,[200] the name given to the prince, as the Tibetan accounts record, on the occasion of his visit to the temple. But this would seem too early for such an appellation, as the name is evidently an epithet. The AbhiS. holds the view that he became known as Śākyamuni as he observed obmutescence for some time after renunciation.[201]

So much for the name. But we can see that the Brāhmaṇas invited to the royal palace were much more impressed by, and keen to give their interpretations of the great physical characteristics of the *bodhisattva*. They were actually summoned there to prognosticate what the future had in store for the infant and to interpret the import of the auspicious marks on the *bodhisattva*'s person. But our account is unfortunately disturbed by the notorious intervention of some eight thousand Maheśvara gods who, under the disguise of brahmins, called on the blessed infant. They are presumed to have been apprehensive of the possible danger that unskilled and unqualified crooks and quacks might spoil the image of the *bodhisattva*'s future.[202] It was as though they did not care for the effort of the *śuddhāvāsa devas* to make the brahmins masters of physiognomy which the text says occurred twelve years prior to the *bodhisattva*'s descent from Tuṣita.[203] It is still more disappointing to find that they show meagre interest in prognosticating the infant's future. The only thing they did was to enumerate the thirty-two great characteristics and make a showy salutation to the Great Being. Not only does the Mv. deprive the reader of interesting details of arguments and considerations on the soothsayers' part, but it is also not in accordance with the general tradition with regard to the order of events. The visit of Asita, the great sage was immediately followed by the diviners' expedition in other works, but the Mv. places it at a later date. Divergent traditions, though derived from one and the same original source, grew independent of one another. Diverse sources dealing with the same episode show considerable variations, which eventuated still more developments in later commentaries and legendary excursus.

Asita's Visit and Prediction

Asita or Kāla[204] was a renowned sage of deep gnosis and experience. As a youth, born unto a wealthy family of Ujjayinī,[205] he had learnt the Vedas along with the traditional subsidiary subjects, and on completion of these studies, he chose the life of the anchorite whereby he could accomplish the four trances (*dhyāna*) and win a clear conception of the five higher knowledges (*abhijñā*). Moreover, he was possessed of exclusive magic and power. Thus Asita could claim to have been well-known and celebrated everywhere, including the heavenly abodes. We understand that he had made his dwelling in the density of woods in the Vindhya mountains.[206]

Having in possession transcendental knowledge and powers, Asita did not fail to notice and recognize the preternatural occurrences that took place on the birth of the *bodhisattva*. According to the Pali tradition, he was on a courtesy call to heaven at the blessed moment, and witnessing the exuberant celebrations of the deities, which were coupled with the joyous exclamations of *buddha*, he enquired of the gods who consequently revealed the good news to him.[207] The royal family of the Śākyan land was well-known to him for he was the chaplain of Siṃhahanu, and also served as the tutor of Śuddhodana, the former's son.[208] It is also recorded that Māyā herself took the precepts of morality sitting before Kāla-devala (Asita).[209] These intimate relations demanded his immediate descent to Kapilavastu,[210] but as the Asita of our text knew nothing of these acquaintances, he decides, though not cool to the great significance of the event, to visit Śuddhodana at his leisure.[211] His visit at the earliest was preferable to the Southern tradition for he was the most qualified authority to determine the inevitable future of the newborn child. Asita's mastery over physiognomy and divination is unquestionable, and he would definitely confirm the infant's destiny as Spiritual Leader of the world, still the Mv. makes no haste to bring the mighty sage so soon into the scene because the supposed motive of his journey is already accomplished by the visit of Maheśvara gods.

Our text differs from the Pali version of the legend to represent Asita arriving at Śuddhodana's palace with a considerable following (*sambahulehi śiṣyehi parivṛto*). He was cordially welcomed there, but only as a stranger, who had to introduce

himself by stating that his name was Kāla and the clan, Bhāradvāja, and that he was coming from the Southern region.[212]

Ushered to Śuddhodana, the sage gains his confidence and respect by providing a proof of his own wisdom and experience. The baby was mistaken to be sleeping when he was actually in a state of meditation, and Asita, to whom reality was not concealed, took the opportunity to convince the king of his sagacity by assuring that the young prince was not asleep.[213] Pali authorities agree on the point that the young *bodhisattva* used to be absorbed in meditation even in his cradle,[214] and the tendency is quite significant as providing an indication of the future vocation of the Great Being. The princeling was brought to the presence of Asita,[215] and the great sage received him with warm feelings.

The Mv. does not elaborate what actually followed the moment the old saint set his eyes on the newly born scion of the Śākyan clan. From other accounts of the episode we learn that there was made a vigorous attempt to make the *bodhisattva* pay homage to the holy seer, but, instead of humiliating himself before the illustrious guest, he demanded to be worshipped, persistently stretching his feet towards Asita's head.[216] That the tradition clearly knew of the implications of such contingency is attested to by the fact that biographers elaborate how the imperturbable sage was impressed to witness the extraordinary happening. So he prostrated himself before the infant, and so does Śuddhodana. In the Mv. the attempt to make the prince bow down before Asita and the father's obeisance find no mention. The omission does not affect the theme of the biography, as the idea of the *bodhisattva*'s excellence over the whole world was already established in the context of the visit to the temple. The Ajanta paintings and the sculptural representations, however, have selected the story of Asita's visit for illustrating the idea.

Asita completes his *rôle*, which was felt necessary to make the *bodhisattva*'s future career certain and irrevocable, in a most emotional and decisive way. Having examined the physical characteristics of the infant, he proclaimed with tears in his eyes that the infant will become none other than a Buddha. The tradition relates with a poetical touch how Asita felt happy and sad at the same time, and how he expressed the contrasting

feelings by first smiling and then weeping,[217] "a very common Indian folktale feature"[218] indeed. To follow our own authority, Asita did only shed tears, whereupon Śuddhodana becomes afraid it concerned the prince's future.[219] The old sage explains that he wept only because he would not be alive by the time of the great event of which he was so sure. This certainty was entirely legitimate in view of his supernatural powers, and moreover his clairvoyance was certainly given additional stress by the audible exclamations of the gods.

In the present episode, scholars like Seydel, Edmunds and Pischel have seen some similarities to the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel in which Simeon's coming to see Jesus is described.[220] Whether one account influenced the other or not is not likely to be ever settled. Beal thinks that "there is no complete explanation to offer" except drawing attention to the "possibility of intercommunication of thought" between the two streams.[221] Dr Thomas also does not like to take sides, and says that "the question can only be fairly judged when all the similar stories have been taken into account."[222] Foucher on the other hand thinks that the two stories are so different in context that no reciprocal influence seems possible.[223]

Much has been said about the great physical characteristics, *i.e.* the thirty-two principal signs and eighty minor signs on the *bodhisattva*'s body.[224] It is a common feature that has been acceptable to all forms of the tradition, and the phenomenon is generally acknowledged throughout the canon. There is no other parallel in ancient Indian literature describing a person bearing all these extraordinary characteristics.[225] Nevertheless, it was not exotic to the Indian tradition, we may rightly suppose, as the Buddhist texts themselves admit. The Mv. discloses that detailed descriptions (*vācā-vistara*) of these physical accomplishments were found in Brahmanical works.[226] The idea of auspicious physical marks was prevalent in society, and we know that physiognomy had gained popularity as an advanced art. It seems therefore logical to think that Buddhists borrowed the idea from the old stock of common Indian tradition.[227] In contrast to this Dr Thomas opines that "some of them were in fact invented from a study of the pecularities in the Indian style of images".[228] But this view is to be hardly corroborated as the *mahāpuruṣa* idea is, as Ananda Coomaraswami pointed

out,[229] certainly older than the oldest images which may be assigned to the first century A.D.[230] The list of great and minor signs may be *n'est ni de l'invention ni de la composition des boud-dhistes*,[231] yet as far as the preservation of the list is concerned, it goes to the credit of the Buddhist literature.

Whether the Buddhist borrowed the list of physical characteristics from an older tradition or not, our authority would not for a moment allow the thought that it has anything to do with heretical tradition. The orthodox explanation of the presence of such details in Brahmanical authorities is that the brahmins were taught these details by gods specially for the purpose of divination. After the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, they say, these elaborations disappear from the Brahmanical works.[232] The *mahāpuruṣa* idea is regarded to be one of the phenomena that establish a relationship between the Buddha and Viṣṇu,[233] but it seems to be noteworthy that the Buddha's personality, sublime beauty and charm have some features shared by Sanat-kumāra (*Brahmā*) rather than by Viṣṇu.[234]

Buddhist texts modestly urge that these signs were manifest-ed entirely by virtue of the gross merits accumulated by the *bodhisattva*.[235] They indicate the Buddha's moral superiority over the whole world and deserve to be appreciated and praised. These superb merits of his personality should be regarded as a factor underlying the Buddha's success.[236] On the other hand, to think of these unsurpassed characteristics of the Buddha's body would over and above inspire in the devout a deep comprehensive feeling concerning the transience of worldly compositions.[237]

Some of these characteristics are, at any rate, under no cir-cumstance admissible on the body of an infant, despite the apocryphal view that the *bodhisattva* was fully developed in limbs and organs even in the mother's womb. Sinhala annals try to lessen its grotesque absurdity by stating that some of these signs such as having a complete set of forty teeth were only in their latent state, and Asita saw them through his divine eye.[238] Other authorities also explain that future Buddhas bear these marks in their germ-state.[239] The real interpretation of these characteristics, as Ananda Coomaraswamy has already shown,[240] would be to take them as "destined to have forty teeth" and "destined to have turban (*uṣṇīṣa*)" etc.

Childhood And Youth

The attitude of the Mv. compilers towards the childhood and youth of the *bodhisattva* is vehemently indifferent. Measures taken by Śuddhodana and his relatives to look after the motherless child, his schooling and pastimes, his early confrontations with the reality of life, and the sumptuous environment full of love and luxury under which he was brought up, all these elements might have been attractive grounds for the poetical imagery of ingenious rhapsodists. But, the Mv. and more or less all other biographical accounts disregard the whole chapter, and let it pass unheeded except for a very few incidents they thought worth recording. As for our text, it seems to think it sufficient for the reader to know about only one occurrence, namely, the famous meditation under the *jambu* tree.

From other sources, however, we can learn a few things, though always wrapped up in legendary fabrications and poetical exaggerations, of course, about the early infancy and childhood of Siddhārtha Gautama. The Mv. too, does not fail to furnish some occasional references to certain aspects of the *bodhisattva*'s home life. Let us here briefly observe what the tradition has preserved in relation to his childhood and adolescence.

After the tragic death of Māyā, Śuddhodana is said to have espoused her younger sister, Mahā-prajāpatī Gotamī, with the special intention of entrusting her with the young prince's care. She is generally spoken of as the younger sister of Māyā, the deceased mother of the *bodhisattva*,[241] but our text introduces her as one of the six elder sisters of the latter.[242] The diversity among the accounts may reflect the fact that the reciters had no exact knowledge as to the background of Mahā-prajāpatī Gotamī. She was, according to the widely known version, already enjoying the status of co-wifehood in Śuddhodana's seraglio. Tibetan authorities hold that she was given to Śuddhodana as a token of deep gratitude of the Śākyan community towards him over one of his victories.[243] The LV. represents her as being particularly selected by the Śākyan matrons as the most suitable woman to hold the responsible post as the *bodhisattva*'s foster mother.[244] Somehow or other she now became the mater familias in the royal house hold of Kapilavastu, and gave motherly love and protection to the young prince

under her custody. She was always careful, as the tradition commemorates with feelings of appreciation,[245] not to let the *bodhisattva* feel for a moment motherless and without love.

Fascinating details are given in Sinhala annals[246] regarding the appointment of nurses and the comforts provided to the *bodhisattva*. The LV. gives a wholly mythical figure as to the number of nurses.[247] We need not tarry over these exaggerations of legendary embroideries, and to our great relief, the Mv. shows no interest in these details. On the other hand, it may be presumed that the oldest biographical references to the Buddha's life set little esteem on details about his childhood, which were of no consequence for the ancient expounders as they were not concerned with points of doctrinal importance. Attempts were made to construct and arrange the Master's life story in a consecutive form only when the necessity of a complete chronicle was felt by the propagators of later times. It is thus only in post-canonical periods that we find poetical and pictorial presentations of the *bodhisattva*'s childhood and youth.

Tibetan Vinaya preserves the accounts of a few incidents which occurred in the prince's childhood and youth, exhibiting his physical strength and spiritual propensity. The *bodhisattva* is said to have once removed a large tree fallen across the river Rohiṇī, when the combined force of all the Śākyan volunteers was exhausted.[248] Another time he ventured to incur the rage of furious Devadatta, from whose hands he saved a wounded swan.[249] Other sources inform us how the prince was bestowed with a large quantity of fine ornaments.[250] The imaginative expositions elaborate the *bodhisattva*'s schooling, too,[251] but these details do not represent the original aspect of the biography.[252]

The only incident that appeared to the mind of our compilers as worthy of record about the early stage of the *bodhisattva*'s life is the famous anecdote of the meditation under the cool shadow of the umbrageous rose-apple (*jambū*) tree. To draw a picture of this important event, we have first of all to keep in mind that, despite the minor differences and dissonances, the incident has been given a very significant place in the canonical accounts of the Master's life. In later periods of his career, it will prove to be the central point that moulded his approach to the naked reality of life; and again that furnished the beacon light in the direction of the Enlightenment. As it did certainly

assume the shape of a turning point in the *bodhisattva*'s life, none of the chroniclers failed to recognize its significance in the form of the most vital impetus in the whole pre-Renunciation life of Siddhārtha Gautama.

The Mv. version of the episode is conspicuous for its own independent approach. One day, to follow our text, the prince happened to be out in the pleasure gardens. As he strolled in the pleasure grounds, he arrived at tilled lands, where some ploughs were seen at work. These ploughs threw up a snake and a frog, and a young boy picked up the frog to eat, but threw away the snake. The *bodhisattva* saw this, and became deeply stirred by the horrible sight.[253] Thereupon he began to concentrate his thoughts on the miserable condition of life and death, and soon he found himself immersed in the deep tranquillity of meditation.

A crushing desire to rid himself of the repulsive worldly attachments suddenly flashed through his mind. "Pleasure, the body and life itself are burnt out together", contemplates he, "and now I shall attain deathless release from existence. For I cannot check my exertion, which is like the flow of the ocean's water in the sea-shore."[254]

The text does not inform us about his age when the incident took place. However, we might safely conjecture that the event was not considered as having occurred in a very early stage of his life, for the Mv. is certain that he was allowed to walk about and sit alone at his discretion. It was only at lunchtime that the father enquired about the prince. The LV. also speaks of the *bodhisattva* in terms of a grown-up (*vivṛddhaḥ kumāraḥ*) person at the time of this marvellous occurrence.[255]

To turn to the Pali, Sinhala, Burmese, Chinese, Tibetan or other Sanskrit versions would bring in nothing more than a confused synthesis of diversities and discrepancies. The Pali authorities assign the striking incident to a much earlier period, probably with a view to lay stress on the point that the mental tendency of the *bodhisattva* had been prone, even in those far-off days of early infancy, towards solitude and meditation. Authorities included in what can collectively be called as the Southern tradition maintain that the *bodhisattva* was at that time a baby of just five months.[256] Tibetan texts, on the other hand, delay the occurrence until he reaches his twenty-ninth year, to

be preceded by the renowned narrative of the Four Scenes.[257] Aśvaghoṣa found him riding on his favourite horse, Kanthaka, towards the forest outskirts where he happened to meet the circumstances that led him to the meditation.[258] We thus find, roughly calculating, that the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition and its outlets (Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian) favour the view that the meditation under the rose-apple tree took place at a grown-up stage of Gautama's life.

In spite of contrasts among themselves, various versions are in agreement as to two points in this context. Firstly, the meditation, or rather the sudden urge that led him to such a mental upheaval, is directly connected with a scene of ploughing, and secondly, he was sitting all by himself in the cool shade of a leafy *jambū* tree.[259]

Underlying these imperfect elements of historicity there grew the elegant superstructure of the miraculous story of the meditation. Elders to whom was entrusted the task of reciting and compiling the story were apparently at a loss to connect the string of the episode. The tradition had recorded that there was a ploughing scene, and it did not cost Pali works much to create a ploughing festival in lieu of the simple scene of everyday life. The same way, the attendants were forced to quit the scene and abandon the princeling to solitude. It is here to be remarked that even in the Pali canonical works, no mention is made of such a large-scale function in what are generally regarded as older *sūtras*.[260]

The *bodhisattva*, who was on a visit to the pleasure gardens along with some friends and attendants, or may be with Śuddhodana and his harem, we may infer, soon left the jovial crowd inasmuch as he found no pleasures amidst them. The vast expanse of fields, shining in the morning sunbeams, might have attracted him and promised tranquillity for his troubled mind. Walking along the track he probably arrived at a field where ploughing was in progress. Here was a life which had hitherto been unknown to and unseen by the prince. Miserable dregs of tillers, half-naked and bathed in perspiration, and then the pitiful sight of toiling oxen...everything was bearing witness to the woes of a wretched life in penury and serfdom. Little wonder if such a scene had aroused a deep emotion in the sympathetic mind of Siddhārtha, who thereby sought to contemplate

the atrocious condition of the world. Concentrating his mind further and further on the same line, sitting under the foliage of a *jambū* tree, he is said to have entered the first trance (*dhyāna*) of meditation.[261]

It is thus not difficult to realize that the Mv. depiction of the scene holds good in view of what other versions representing the Northern tradition have recorded. It was the unfamiliar circumstances suddenly witnessed in the fields that led the prince to the depth of contemplation. The LV. does not attribute much significance to what he saw or felt, but accords with homogeneous accounts to hold that the prince was gloomy and distressed (*saṃvignamanā*).[262] Pali works provide no hint to this effect and the sole reason for the sudden awakening in the *bodhisattva* is given as his being secluded. Were that seclusion the only impulse for the celebrated meditation, that was a condition which would have been available even in the palace, and moreover, the ploughing scene would hardly be of any practical relevance in that case. The opinion of the Northern School that the unexpected confrontation with lurid reality behind the luxury of the royal palace evoked a flash of sorrow and commiseration deep down in the tender heart of Siddhārtha therefore seems more justifiable.[263] Tibetan sources substantiate this view, and present a vivid picture of the crucial scene in a quite convincing way :

"There he saw labourers hair erect, uncovered hands and feet, their bodies dirty and running with sweat, and the work-oxen pricked with iron goads, their backs and rumps streaming with blood, hungry and thirsty, panting with fast beating hearts, burdened with a yoke which they had to drag great distances, flies and insects biting them with bleeding and suppurating wounds, the plough-share wounding them, running at the mouth and nose, covered with gad flies and mosquitoes. . . ."[264]

The description, though not without the evident touch of a skilled poet, is strong enough to inspire in the reader's mind sympathetic feelings for the poor beings, and no wonder a prince of compassionate nature should become disgusted at the scene and resolve to find a way out of the appalling reality.[265] Foucher is right in observing that *dans sursaut de conscience qui, à la première vue de l'activité fondamentale de l'humanité, aurait rejéte le prince Siddhârtha du côté de la vie purement contemplative, ses hagio-*

graphes ont reconnu et ont eu raison de reconnaître l'éveil de sa vocation monastique.[266]

Legendary elements become once again important at this juncture, and just a bit of miracle would seem desirable in order to enhance the glory and greatness of the moment. His supremacy over all beings was to be readily recognized, not only by experienced sages, gods and men, but also by inanimate (*acetana*) objects.[267] Hence the shadow of the *jambū* tree does not leave the *bodhisattva* even when the sun's rays had moved on, and shadows of the other trees had become slant. The Southern version pleases to tell us how the young prince sat cross-legged at a height above the earth.[268]

A group of five sages flying through space, arrived at the place and found themselves obstructed and unable to fly over the meditating prince. Coming to know of the marvellous phenomenon, they descend to earth; extol the sublime character of the young *bodhisattva*; and express their conviction that he would certainly become the Enlightened One.[269] The Pali tradition makes no reference to the sages' eulogy, but the more attractive miracle of the *jambū* tree and the shadow is further developed. These treatises would have us believe that not only that particular tree at the foot of which he was enjoying the transcendental bliss, but also other *jambū* trees in the vicinity did not expose the prince unto the growing heat of the mid-noon sun, and protected his tender body by encircling him.[270]

Lunch time having approached, Śuddhodana enquired about the prince. Servants ran here and there in search of Siddhārtha and found him sitting under a rose-apple tree, still sunk in deep thoughts. Śuddhodana was immediately informed of the situation, and he hurried to see the miracle with his own eyes. The accounts in the texts reach the climax of the glorious event by stating how the father, overwhelmed with the marvel, prostrated himself in front of the son.[271]

The idea seems original and typical to Buddhist thought. For centuries before and still many centuries after the emergence of the Buddha's message the concept of salutation that prevailed in the Indian stream of thought, particularly Vedic and Brahmanic, was that the lower by birth, *i.e.* by caste or in age, must respect and salute the higher. Buddhism, which had launched a revolutionary movement in many social and psychological

aspects,[272] dared to challenge this deep-rooted traditional notion of obeisance. The lower ought to respect and salute the higher, of course, but the sole criterion between the lower and higher was, as Aśvaghoṣa rightly sang,[273] no longer to be one's birth, *i.e.* neither caste nor age, but was to be virtue and merits that one could sincerely claim to possess. He who follows the path of morality and whose character surpasses the rank and file in virtuous conduct deserves homage and salutation from all those who cannot equate themselves with the former. Śuddhodana, moved by the unusual occurrence, prostrated himself in the presence of his meritorious son, so follows the tradition, thus setting the first example of the Buddhist ideal of worship and salutation.[274]

In the Pali tradition, it is significant, the only two incidents which were considered worthy of record of his childhood and adolescence, namely, the visit of Asita and the meditation in the fields, contain a similar accent in this regard. In both scenes the father bows at his son's feet, and they are even known as the first and second worship by the father. In our text, no mention is made of the first obeisance of Śuddhodana, which coincided with Asita's worshipping the infant, but it corroborates the tradition by referring to it in the scene of his third salutation.[275]

The Mv. gives us the same impression as to the *bodhisattva*'s unparalleled personality, for in both incidents he is represented as having received homage and reverence from two persons whom he should in normal circumstances have worshipped. Another common string to be found between the two narratives is their indication of the future religious vocation of the *bodhisattva*. He is depicted as being absorbed in meditation, and the same time his future success in the spiritual world is forecast, too. Should the legendary elements such as miracles and over-expressed eulogies be put aside, still one can see the purport conveyed by the nucleus of these interludes. The future career of Siddhārtha Gautama is destined ab initio, and there shall be no change of, or digression from his way.

It is thus obvious that the tendency to cogitate and contemplate on the distressing reality of life was on its way to create an indelible mark in the mind of the prince from a very early stage

of his years of discretion. As he was extremely compassionate by nature, it was but natural for him to be disturbed by unhappy experiences of day-to-day life. It was gradually becoming a habit with him, we may understand, moved by the touching misery of life, to ponder over the means of finding a reasonable solution to the dilemma. Filled with commiseration, the *bodhisattva*, pensive and contemplative, would prefer solitude. The king becomes more and more aware of his son's mental outlook[276] and finds himself at a loss to save his son for the future glory of Universal Rulership. Asita's prophecy was rankling in his mind ever since the clairvoyant sage declared it in positive terms. As he was determined to make a mighty *cakravartin* of the prince, he would take all measures against the defeat of his objective.

Although the other alternative of his future career, *i.e.* to rule the whole world as the glorious cakravartin, is not given much prominence in the Mv., the augurs had made it known as a possibility,[277] and everybody in Kapilavastu was aware of the prophecy. Śuddhodana would not allow his son, in whom he saw none other than a mighty Universal Lord, to be drifted away by gloomy thoughts. The only way that appeared in his opinion efficacious enough to prevent the future Universal Monarch from pernicious inclination to the secluded life was to divert him with all kinds of amusements.[278]

Siddhārtha's Life In The Palace

Śuddhodana now begins to devise subtle ways and means to bind the prince to the household life for good before he shall have made up his mind to renounce everything and adopt the much feared religious life. Our own authorities of the Southern tradition record how Śuddhodana once more consulted the diviners when the prince was twelve years old, and came to know that acquaintance with old age, disease and death would induce him to leave home.[279] The Northern tradition does not seem to recognize the necessity of such a consultation, all the same the fact that Śuddhodana tried his best to keep his son as delighted and comfortable as possible is not less emphasized there.

Śuddhodana is not to be accused of following the path of Māra, for any father in his shoes would choose the course of

temptation when the only other alternative was to lead his son to the mercy of hardship and destitution in the homeless life. The *bodhisattva* was, according to the texts, bestowed with all the comforts and luxuries that were available at the time.

The text preserves an autobiographical account attributed to the Buddha enumerating all the comforts and means of entertainment that had been provided for the prince who, in his father's ambitious prospect, was destined to become a *cakravartin*. The description may not appeal to a critic's mind as a genuine report of pure history, though it finds a prominent place in the Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit accounts in an almost identical style and phraseology. But its authenticity is minimised as the description is seen applied to narrate the story of the Buddha Vipassi in the Pali authority,[280] whereas our text represents another previous Buddha, Dīpaṅkara, as having enjoyed a similar life of comfort and luxury.[281] In later times the idea formed an essential part of the legends of all Buddha, and annalists found themselves busy with inventing superfine pieces of mythology, including names for those three palaces, supposed to be an indispensable part of the property of all *bodhisattvas*. The LV. also speaks about three grand mansions,[282] but Aśvaghoṣa refers to only one palace.[283]

The passage bears a strange conformity with the relevant portion in the story of Yaśoda, and this verisimilitude has led some scholars to a hasty conclusion that the latter furnished the model for the former narrative.[284] E. J. Thomas hesitates to acquiesce in this, and opines that it is difficult to decide which one provided the model.[285] A model would hardly have been required by the reciters to whom the task of producing the Buddha's biography was entrusted.

That Śuddhodana could provide all requisites for a luxurious life is beyond doubt. Oldenberg expresses his satisfaction over the probability of the description.[286] The credibility of all these colourful elaborations as to Siddhārtha's home life rests to a great extent on the answer we get to the question whether Śuddhodana was a rich and powerful person or not. Gorgeous descriptions of Śuddhodana's prosperity as featured in the texts including the Mv. should of course be taken with their due grain of salt, as they represent to a certain extent the grandiloquent tendency of poets-cum-propagandists, whose

imaginative talent was at liberty to take the pious reader to a fanciful world. The ancient works irrevocably agree that Śuddhodana was no less than the King of the Śākyan clan. In sculptures he is always portrayed as a monarch. Whether his kingship commanded any authoritative power in the wide sense of the term depends much on the status and constitution of the Śākyan polity. Our meagre knowledge of this particular tribe of Indo-Āryan stock is wholly derived from the Buddhist legends with little external sources to confirm it. Śuddhodana, following our tradition, succeeded to the throne of the Śākyan kingdom after the death of his father, Siṃhahanu, and reigned over the Śākyan territory as its sole ruler.[287]

Modern scholars are reluctant to regard Śuddhodana as a king, for the Śākyan tribe appears to have been more a republic than a monarchy. They have arrived at the conclusion that the Buddha's father could by no means have been a real king vested with political power. Oldenberg thinks that Śuddhodana was "not more than a wealthy and great landowner of the Śākya race", and that it was "not very large territory over which the Śākyans claimed supremacy and domination."[288] Watters also supports this view by saying: "At the time of Gautama Buddha there was neither a king Śuddhodana, nor a palace of his."[289] E.J. Thomas, too, was a strong opponent of the traditional view of his kingship, and he quoted some references from the Sn. and from some other texts in which, it was argued, Śuddhodana is not mentioned as a full-fledged king.[290] This can only mean, on the basis of these evidences, that the oldest tradition knew nothing about his kingship. The story of a royal dynasty and hereditary rulership forms, in their opinion, merely a part of later fabrications that were intended to help set high values upon the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation. Others would go to the extent that they find evidences to prove that Śuddhodana was not even a permanent resident of Kapilavastu.[291]

But let us here have a glimpse of what the tradition has to say. The controversial passage of the Sn. (Pabbajjā-sutta) occurs in our text, too, in almost the same words.[292] The passage recounts the *bodhisattva*'s meeting with Bimbisāra, on his visit to Rājagṛha after the Great Renunciation. Responding to the king's enquiries, he introduces himself as hailing from a land that was counted as a part of Kosala territory. He does

not give the impression that his family was ruling over the country to which he belonged. These two points, brought into the light in this remarkable passage need explanation if one further insists on the orthodox view regarding the family status of Śuddhodana and Siddhārtha Gautama.

Merely that the prince, or rather ascetic, Siddhārtha did not refer to his royal heritage in plain terms would not serve as a very strong proof to repudiate his father's position. As he had already renounced the worldly life with all its nomenclature, he can be justified in not speaking of his family in a haughty manner. He would prove in years to come that he had eradicated the memory of royalty, as we know, by going abegging in the city streets on his first visit to Kapilavastu as the Enlightened One. And then he addresses his father simply as 'Gautama' or Śākya, certainly a sign of impudent manners according to the average standards, and explains that his lineage is different from that of the latter. Pali tradition preserves a conversation of the Buddha in which he repudiates his princely status, though from a different angle.[293] No positive evidence is found to disprove the view that Siddhārtha was born to a noble family which had claims to royalty, and we have good reasons to presume that Śuddhodana had been a commanding figure enjoying certain powers over his fellow clansmen, although he might not have been endowed with any status akin to supreme rulership.

With regard to the second remark, *i.e.* the Śākyan land was but a part of Kosala Province, we are not in a position to conclude what the phrase actually intends to convey. The Mv. puts it as *kosaleṣu nivāsito* which is generally understood to mean 'inhabited in the territory of Kosala'.[294] Could it suggest the ancient blood relation between the Kosala dynasty and the Śākyans of Kapilavastu who were believed to be descendants of the royal family of Kosala? Prasenajit expressed his gladness over the fact that the Buddha and he were Kosalans.[295] It should be noticed that no other devout follower of the Tathāgata, living in the Kosala country such as Anātha-piṇḍika is found expressing a similar claim. The said remark of the Kosalan king shows the recognition of equality, which implies that dominance of Kosala kings over the Śākyans, if there was any, was nothing more than a fading reminiscence of dynastic significance.[296]

It is important to notice here that the Southern tradition gives a different interpretation to the phrase at issue. The Pali passage reads *kosalesu niketino*, which the commentary explains as signifying the long-standing reputation and accumulated wealth of the Śākyan royal family. The author of the Burmese work Mālā-laṅkāra-vatthu interprets it as "the country which has been governed by a long succession of the descendants of prince Kosala."[297] The family line of Śuddhodana in all probability had a very long history, for Śākyans were, as Oldenberg surmised a many years ago,[298] among the earliest Āryan immigrants to North-Eastern India. As an uninterrupted succession of royal heritage, Śuddhodana's family may be expected to possess a big estate and at the same time to be more or less distinguished as the leading person in the body politic of Kapilavastu.[299]

In the light of these speculations the description of the *bodhisattva*'s home life does not appear to be entirely devoid of the historical touch. Somehow, Siddhārtha had no particular interest, according to the tradition, in home life as his mind was longing after the peaceful bliss that was obtainable only through dedication to the homeless state. It was a deep-rooted determination, as we shall presently see, that had been for a long time evolving in his mind.

The Mv. then relates the renowned incidents connected with his marriage.

It was against the above said psychological background of apprehension and melancholy that his marriage was proposed. According to the LV. the king had a serious discussion with his colleagues on the subject and was encouraged by them to hasten the prince's marriage.[300] The Mv. gives the credit of marriage proposals to Śuddhodana alone, who, becoming anxious on seeing his son's indifferent and reserved attitude, resorted to nuptial bondage which was in his eyes the only effective means to fasten the dispassionate heir to home life.

Before we go into the details of the *bodhisattva*'s marriage, we have to bear in mind two simple but significant points pertaining to the accounts of the same. On the one hand, these narrations involve one of the few definite facts of Gautama's life. Taking into account the Elders' attitude towards the Buddha's personality in general and their approach regarding the values

and objectives of the secular life in particular, the accounts of his marriage are to be regarded, as scholars have pointed out,[301] as representing the genuine tradition based on authentic events. And on the other hand, it is likewise remarkable that texts, even later poetical works, exhibit a striking indifference to matters of prime importance relating to the marriage.

Sources preserving the Northern tradition record the details of an interesting procedure conducted by Śuddhodana in order to select a suitable bride for his son. On account of Siddhārtha's reserved attitude, it had become extremely difficult to find out what type of a girl he would like to choose as the life-companion. If he were to see face to face all young beauties in the neighbourhood, the king thought, he would certainly betray some signs of his inner feelings towards them. With this motive, Śuddhodana arranges a function in the royal gardens in which the prince was to distribute a large quantity of ornaments among the charming damsels of Kapilavastu and adjoining areas.[302] The LV. lessens its significance as a contrivance to find out Siddhārtha's choice by placing the function after the go-betweens had located the proper match for the *bodhisattva*.[303] The AbhiS. supports the Mv. in this context, as it enlightens us as to the reason behind the function. "If I arrange the marriage without consulting the prince, thought Śuddhodana, it would provoke him and make him determined not to consent; and on the other hand, if I talk to in plain terms, he would take the subject deeply to heart and in the end not fall in with my views."[304] The best thing in the circumstances was to find out with whom the prince would be likely to fall in love.

It is thus obvious that the main object of the said function of distributing ornaments was to discover the *bodhisattva*'s own choice. The important thing was, as the texts try to imply, to please and persuade the prince who was not in favour of marriage. It is to be remarked that Śuddhodana does not show keen interest to think of the qualifications required for the future queen of the Supreme Lord of the world, and that the chance was open for any maiden, regardless of her caste and social status, who was capable of alluring and entrapping the stoic youth.

The sensational function started in the pleasure-gardens. It may have been the pre-arranged place for the purpose, but

one might understand that the *bodhisattva*'s personal inclination to prefer the open air was perhaps not overlooked in choosin the place. It was characteristic in the Buddha's life that he always preferred the open air, and we find in authoritative sources how Siddhārtha Gautama used to visit parks and groves very often.

Following Śuddhodana's request or rather 'order' (*rājāṇattiye*), many unmarried women had turned up at the pleasure-gardens. The *bodhisattva* would not even for a moment vouchsafe a look at them. They, too, unable to sustain the splendour and glory of the prince, did not venture to arouse in him any feeling of affection. Now, last of all, Yaśodharā makes her appearance in a bashful manner (*hriyāyanti*), by which time the stock of ornaments had been already exhausted. But fortunately for the ministers who were all the time watching the prince and were now on the verge of frustration as their mission seemed to be a failure, Siddhārtha sets his eyes on the charming beauty, for whom he had no present left. Let the text tell us what followed :

"He took off the costly necklace which he wore and which was worth a hundred thousand pieces, and gave it to Yaśodharā. With a smile she said : "Is this all I am worth ?" The young prince, laughing took off from his finger, his finger-ring, which was worth a hundred thousand pieces, and gave it to her."[305]

The scene really captivates the reader's mind, and it seems to be almost entirely devoid of poetical embellishment. It was natural on the part of the *bodhisattva* to gaze on her, probably as a tacit expression of being sorry that here was no ornament saved for her, if not as a gesture of his affection for the damsel, whom he might have known closely. The LV. gives further details of the conversation, wherein the *fiancée* is seen expressing her desire to become herself an ornament to the prince.[306] The account has been appreciated by writers as a "gracious interplay, which comes as a charming oasis in an arid desert."[307]

After all the function served its ultimate motive, convincing the king's agents that the *bodhisattva*'s heart was not a forbidden ground for human emotions. The intelligence was brought to the king immediately, as he had ordered his messengers. They informed Śuddhodana that Yaśodharā, the daughter of

Mahānāman the Śākyan,[308] turned out to be the only qualified and apposite candidate for appealing to the prince's heart.

It is not without some degree of uncertainty that we have to speak of the *bodhisattva*'s *fiancée*. Various texts give us different names, and a compromise among these names is almost infeasible. She is known to the Mv. authors as Yaśodharā, the daughter of Mahānāman. Pali sources as well as their tributaries of Sinhala and Burmese traditions often refer to her by the same name, but her father was, according to them Suppabuddha. This is evidently the outcome of a confusion of names. The LV. calls her Gopa or Yaśovatī, the daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi,[309] The AbhiS. acknowledges her father's name as Daṇḍapāṇi, but she is in that work called Gautamī, a common name for Śākyan ladies.[310] Now the Śākyan pedigree in the Southern School discloses that Suppabuddha and Daṇḍapāṇi were brothers, Mahāmāyā and Prajāpatī being their sisters.[311] In either case Yaśodharā would then stand as the daughter of the maternal uncle of Siddhārtha.[312] This relationship may be treated as authentic, since it was customary among the Śākyans to marry their cousins, and as such, the Mv. claim that her father was Mahānāman becomes rather isolated.[313]

As her father's name was obscure to the ancient narrators, so was her own name. Older Pali texts prefer to introduce her simply as Rāhula-mātā, a traditional way of honouring parents by referring to their illustrious progeny. Among other names familiar to the Pali works are found Bimbā, Bhadda-kaccānā, and Subhaddakā.[314] Dr Malalasekara suggests that Bimbā may be her personal name, "other names being descriptive epithets applied to her, which later became regarded as additional names."[315] Oldenberg considers these names as "copious inventions of later times.[316] Dr Thomas also thinks on the same lines as he presumes that these different names "would not have been invented, if there had been an old authoritative tradition."[317]

We may perceive in this context that the tradition is not so very complicated as it is supposed to be. There is no reason to presuppose that the *bodhisattva* could have only one consort. The traditional view is that he had been surrounded by a large number of young women apart from female attendants in the royal palace. The LV. gives us the impression that he had

three wives, whose names are given as Yaśodharā, Mṛgajā, and Utpalavarṇā.[318] Chinese authorities would tell us that there were three queens, for the three palaces built by Śuddhodana for the *bodhisattva*.[319] In the light of these informations, it appears more probable that he had more than one wife,[320] some of whom joined the Buddhist Order at a later time. Paramattha-dīpanī gives us the names of some women of the *bodhisattva*'s harem, who later became nuns,[321] as Tissā, Mittā, Dhīrā, Vīrā, Bhadrā[322] and Upasamā.

But all these consorts cannot have got married to Siddhārtha at one and the same time, and the biographical accounts relating the *bodhisattva*'s marriage are certainly referring to his matrimonial union with the chief queen. Who she was, we shall probably never know for certain, and the ancient tradition probably thought that the best way was to call her Rāhula-mātā for want of a uniform personal name. That Rāhula was her son by the *bodhisattva* is certain. Moreover, we can find a close connection between the *bodhisattva*'s marriage to his chief queen and Devadatta's enmity towards the former. Pali tradition is categorical that Devadatta was Yaśodharā's brother and he hated the Buddha because she was deserted by him. The Mv. and some other authorities represent Devadatta as having been keen to win the hand of the girl who finally became the chief consort of Siddhārtha. In the contest for her hand, Devadatta was one of the strongest rivals of Siddhārtha,[323] and he is said to have sought her in marriage even after the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation.[324] According to the Tibetan Vinaya,[325] Utpalavarṇā, the famous nun whose name is also found in the lists of Siddhārtha's wives, met her tragic death after Devadatta brutally assaulted her.[326] It is also noteworthy that Rāhula is nowhere depicted as having close relationship with Devadatta, who was his maternal uncle in the Southern accounts.[327]

Whatever her name may be, she was definitely known to the compilers of the Mv. as Yaśodharā. This is the name generally accepted by various schools,[328] and the Mv. does not give us any other name for her throughout the text.

Returning to the textual account of the marriage, we find Śuddhodana gladly sending messengers to Yaśodharā's father asking for her as the prince's bride. But the royal patriarch soon had to face a baffling dilemma. To much of his chagrin,

Mahānāman told him point-blank that he was not prepared to give his daughter in marriage to a youth who had not acquired a proper education and could not therefore be expected to possess the accomplishments that a prince of his state was supposed to have achieved.[329]

Siddhārtha's education is nowhere featured in the Mv., and it would have us believe, as Mahānāman did, that the *bodhisattva* had received no education whatsoever. Furthermore, the text depicts Śuddhodana repenting his failure as he did not, out of extreme affection, send the prince anywhere for studies.[330] All the same, why should any father refuse to accept a Universal Ruler designate as his son-in-law? The legendary treatises of late origin, evidently with the view to give the story of this insolent refusal a more convincing shape, put forward another reason which they thought more reasonable and less discrepant. Yaśodharā's father was not in favour of the proposal, according to them, because the prince was destined to renounce the world.[331] But the unavoidable question of the *bodhisattva*'s competence and calibre, that opened the curtain for the great display of physical and intellectual achievements was too alluring to be hushed up, and they found those parents, who were requested to send their daughters for Siddhārtha's harem, equally eligible for raising the issue.[332] The LV. also could not resist the temptation of the prologue to the great tournament, and forgetting what had earlier been stated about the *bodhisattva*'s marvellous success at school, adopted the same tradition that furnished material for the Mv.[333]

The question of the *bodhisattva*'s schooling, his marriage, the great display of his talents as well as his luxurious life at home are all interrelated points. The Pali tradition which completely ignores the biographical information, if there was any, regarding his studies at the feet of teachers dealt with the tournament with the sole intention of magnifying the supernatural powers and and prowess of the *bodhisattva*. Our text is also silent with regard to his practical studies, and it may here be noted that the tradition even takes it for granted that the *bodhisattvas* are able without teachers to practise all the arts of mankind. But there are other authorities which contain references to Gautama's teachers. The Northern tradition preserves the name Viśvamitra,[334] probably identical with Sabbamitta mentioned in the

Milinda.[335] Buddhaghosa refers to five teachers of the Buddha, whereas the Tibetan works bring into light another two names, *viz.* Śalabha and Sahadeva, who taught him to manage elephants and archery respectively.[336]

On the other hand, the long details of his schooling, as recorded in the works like the LV. and the AbhiS. are not to be wholly dismissed on the basis that they are full of superfluous marvels and irrational exaggerations.[337] These unnecessary features once stripped off, the nucleus of these extravaganzas might prove to preserve a faint memory of the truth concerning the *bodhisattva*'s schooling. Aśvaghoṣa also knew that he received his education regularly though it took but a very short time to master himself in various sciences.[338] The Divy. and the *Si-Yu-Ki* reveal how pilgrims were shown the 'historic' spots where the *bodhisattva*'s schoolroom and gymnasium were situated.[339] The prince sitting at the feet of a teacher is found depicted among Ajanta paintings, and the scene had been a favourite attraction for many bas-reliefs of the Gandhara school.[340]

Had the prince's studies been a reality well-known, Mahānāman would not have found a reasonable ground to justify his refusal. So the Southern authorities dissociate the archery from his marriage with Yaśodharā, which takes place in those accounts sometime before the celebrated event. Was it because the *bodhisattva*, always resorting to seclusion, did not devote himself to the activities of military importance such as tournaments, battles, hunts and what not, that a misunderstanding about his personal capacity became prevalent? Besides, the situation was not improved, we may conjecture, by the attitude of Śuddhodana who wished to see the prince enjoying life in the palace, for it would, in his view be conducive to keeping him at home. This eventuated in the *bodhisattva*'s increasing confinement to the interior parts of the palace, and accordingly, he became misrepresented by Śākyans as being careless and wanton.[341] They began to murmur and complain about his peculiar indifference towards the ancestral practices and Siddhārtha was thus forced to show his achievements.[342]

The other possible explanation for the military tournament underlies certain references that give the display the colour of a competition. In ancient times it was not unusual to select the most suitable fiance for renowned beauties through such

competitive programmes. Can we link the tournament with the casual references to the others' candidature for the hand of the *bodhisattva*'s bride? In the AbhiS. we find Devadatta and Nanda intimidating Daṇḍapāṇi with disastrous aftermaths unless he consented to give away his daughter in marriage to them[343]. Daṇḍapāṇi's daughter is recognized by others as Yaśodharā, and we know that both Devadatta and Nanda were eager to win her. In the light of these speculations it seems probable that Devadatta and Sundara-nanda also came forward, simultaneously with Śuddhodana's negotiations, to seek Yaśodharā's hand and the girl's father had no alternative other than declaring her as the reward for the winner in a military and academic competition. Devadatta, defeated and disgusted, would remain the enemy of Siddhārtha, and the tradition itself acknowledges the fact that it was not without much exertion and pain that the *bodhisattva* won Yaśodharā.[344]

After all, the grand tournament had to take place at any cost, and all versions of the Master's biography treat the event as an indispensable piece of real importance. Nevertheless the accounts vary as to the details of the display (*darśana*). Although the procedure of the tournament does much resemble a competitive demonstration, yet in our text the central figure of the whole affair is none other than the *bodhisattva*. It was he who determined the date and pattern of the archery contest. It assumes the form of a challenge, not from the supercilious Śākyans, as the text tells us, but from the *bodhisattva*. He expresses his wish to compete with all who are skilled "whether in knowledge of the arts, in archery, fighting, boxing, cutting, stabbing, in speed, in feats of strength, in the use of elephants, horses, chariots, bows and spears, or in arguments."[345]

A legendary incident, peculiar to the Northern tradition, is said to have preceded the great competition. An elephant was killed by Devadatta at the city gate, and Siddhārtha removed the corpse showing an unequal courage and strength. Around this there grew a most marvellous and contradictory legend. The elephant was, according to our text, grown-up (*ṣaṣṭhi-hāyano*) and full of vigour (*paramena ca sthāmena ca samanvāgato*); and had been going astray (*bhrānto*).[346] From the LV. we learn that it was not roaming about, but was being brought to the palace for Siddhārtha's use.[347] The

Tibetan Vinaya seems to be more informative about the elephant as it records that it was presented to the *bodhisattva* by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī.[348] The AbhiS. contradicts all these views by saying that it was the royal white elephant of Śuddhodana, which was sent to the arena for victorious Siddhārtha to return to the palace.[349]

Leaving the different versions in their disagreement, we direct our attention to what happened at the city-gate. The elephant was present at the entrance to Kapilavastu while Devadatta was on his way either to or from the inner city, and the ill-fated animal happened to arouse his temper.[350] "Being intoxicated with jealousy and Śākyan pride", he killed it with "just one blow with the palm of his hand."[351] It is remarkable that the tradition admits that Devadatta, as a matter of fact, was far superior to other Śākyans except Siddhārtha. According to Pali commentaries, he had the strength equal to five elephants.[352] But the *bodhisattva* had already proved that his physical strength was equal to that of a thousand elephants.[353]

Devadatta went away, leaving the dead elephant where it fell. Now it was the turn of Sundara-nanda who was recognized by the Southern tradition to be the half-brother of Siddhārtha.[354] Following Devadatta towards the same destination, he arrived at the scene and saw the carcass lying at the entrance, debarring free movement through the city gate. He tried to be helpful, but could only drag it away for seven paces. The *bodhisattva* appears at the proper moment to exhibit his superfine strength, and hurls the elephantine carcass out of the city over its seven walls.[355] Many centuries later when Hieuen Tsiang arrived at Kapilavastu, he found a large pit, still commemorated as the place where the dead elephant fell when the *bodhisattva* kicked it.[356]

The literary import of the interlude is plain. Since Devadatta and Sundara-nanda were both to be defeated by the *bodhisattva* at the display, our annalists seem to be giving premonitory hints as to what would immediately follow. Devadatta could not pull the elephant at all, though he showed his unusual strength by killing it with a single blow. Sundara-nanda did a bit better than him, but it was the prince Siddhārtha who could claim superiority over all others.

Many thousands of people had gathered to see the great

competition, and many courageous youths from the Śākya, Koliya and Licchavi territories had come to participate in the demonstration. Legendary accounts elaborate how the *bodhisattva* defeated all participants, individually and collectively, thus leaving the audience as well as his experienced examiners in utter amazement. The Mv. also describes how the supreme hero stood triumphant and undefiable, as we may naturally expect, winning the day by bagging all the honours. It is sufficient to say here that our compilers represent the *bodhisattva* as having convinced all that had gathered there of his ability and chivalry, and the whole Śākya country come to sing his praise and be proud of him.

It is remarkable that the biographers have little interest in details concerning the *bodhisattva*'s marriage. Writers one after the other failed, or rather could not overcome their religious preoccupations, to make up their minds to present a vivid picture of that important ceremony. Marriage is perhaps the only event in the life of Siddhārtha Gautama that was not accompanied by miracles. No host of divine beings come with their usual equipment of reverence to glorify the solemn function, and no legend is ever advanced around the event. The LV. which lavishly dedicates chapter after chapter to all other important events in the Buddha's life has only two short sentences to describe the marriage proper.[357] Our text has not devoted a single sentence for the subject and leaves it to be tacitly understood. Aśvaghoṣa's *mahā-kāvya* wherein the marriage would have been an ideal subject matter for a detailed elaboration, has only one verse to convey it.[358] Even the quite later biographies would think they did justice to so important a topic by just mentioning it cursorily.[359]

The marriage of the *bodhisattva* as modern critics have rightly observed, was a bitter draught for the devout annalists.[360] Their dilemma was that they could neither refute, nor circumvent the genuine tradition, and at the same time deep down in their hearts was the permanent belief that it would not in the long run help enhance the Master's image. Evidently biographers were inclined to disregard the marriage, and efforts were made in due course to exempt him from all weaknesses and shortcomings of humanity. Throughout the biographies of the Buddha, Yaśodharā Rāhula-mātā never appears as a dominant figure.

Accepting the Pali tradition that the *bodhisattva* married Yaśodharā at the age of sixteen,[361] he seems to have spent thirteen years in union with her, but not a single word is written to describe their joint life. Even in the narrative of the Four Signs, which occurred on his way to the pleasure-gardens, the prince is seen sitting alone in the chariot.

On the other hand, our authority seeks refuge in its peculiar theory of the Buddha's supra-mundane nature to extricate the *bodhisattva* from contaminating himself by lust, the root of all evils, for the escape from which Māyā had to sacrifice her precious life. According to the Lokottaravādins, the *bodhisattva* never degraded himself to the level of common folk, and his long-practised celibacy was never infringed. "From the time of their sojourn in Tuṣita", advocates the Mv., "they no longer indulge in the pleasures of the senses."[362] The pious exponents of the Good Law would multiply the number of maidens around the bodhisattva by thousands and thousands, but only to show that even though surrounded by so many attractions, he did not give way to the temptation for earthly enjoyments.

This theory of his supramundane character is not supported by the biographical accounts handed down to us by other schools. Pali tradition has no doubt that Siddhārtha enjoyed his married life as any other man would have.[363] Even the Northern School represents the *bodhisattva* behaving just like any other normal man in his nuptial relations.[364] These statements are nearer to historicity, and the Mv. fails to convince us of a different behaviour on his part. "We have no reason to contest the statement", says Foucher, "that Siddhārtha humanly enjoyed for a few years the pleasures of life made available by his fortune."[365]

The Great Renunciation (abhiniṣkramaṇa)

Soon was approaching the turning point of the *bodhisattva*'s life. Siddhārtha Gautama was destined to become the Buddha, and for that he had to leave home, sooner or later, in spite of much resistance from his elders and many a temptation on the part of astrological and physiognomical predictions. Historical as it is that the Śākyan prince left home for a homeless state (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ*), leaving behind a luxurious life, beloved family and supposed kingship, there should be some

strong factors that paved the way to such a dynamic step. The traditional explanation is that the prince became all of a sudden fully aware of the real facts of life, so vividly expressed by the unavoidable circumstances of old age, disease and death, and at midnight he left the city in order to find out a safe and satisfactory solution to these burning problems of the world.

Why and how was he compelled to reach this far-reaching decision and act accordingly? What were the factors that moulded and determined the future mode of life of Siddhārtha Gautama, thus leading him from security and love in the royal palace to the caducous self-denying state of a wandering ascetic? These momentous questions arise in our mind, the answers to which would if only we could obtain them, clarify the enigmatic phenomenon of Siddhārtha's renunciation.

In the form of two accounts of the Great Renunciation we find in the Mv. an attempt to provide a reasonable explanation for the prince's sudden flight. The first one, supposed to be a discourse from the Buddha's own lips, may in all probability be regarded as one of the first ever attempts to refer to the historical event. Declares the Exalted One :

"I was delicately, most delicately brought up, monks. And while I was thus delicately brought up, this thought occurred to me : "Now this life at home is too full of hindrances. The way of religious life is in the open air. It is not possible for one living at home to live the holy life that is utterly bright, blameless, pure and clean. Let me then, now go away from home into the homeless state".

"Then monks, against the wishes of my sobbing and weeping parents, I left my sumptuous home and the universal kingship that was in my hands. And now, being a wanderer from home into the homeless state, I withdrew towards the city of Vaiśālī and reached it."[366]

This is the brief and unspecific way that the ancient tradition is pleased to deal with the great event. Authoritative as it is, yet the account is incontrovertibly incomplete and is evidently not intended to serve as any descriptive record of the Great Renunciation. Scholars who have accepted these two passages as representing the older tradition of the *bodhisattva*'s leaving home[367] are inclined to overlook the fact that it is not a singular statement characteristic of the Buddha's renunci-

ation alone. The foregoing passage in relation to the dissatisfaction over the home life is anything but personal, for the same expression is ascribed to many others who left home for the religious life.[368] And the second part of the statement, describing how he left home, does not carry us much further, as it is confined to saying only that the *bodhisattva* left Kapilavastu much against his parents' wish and will.

It is therefore obvious that we cannot take the passage in question to substantiate any view such as that the oldest tradition knew nothing more about the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation. Moreover, that the passage mentions the so-called Universal Lordship would not permit us to consider it as representing a very ancient stratum of the genuine tradition which was not tinged with legendary elements.

The second account[369] is relatively more complete, and provides the full picture of the *abhiniṣkramaṇa* as the general Buddhist tradition wanted its adherents and admirers to believe. According to this version, the whole procedure of the Great Renunciation is absolutely based on the legendary story of the fabulous encounter with the Four Signs. The *bodhisattva* was, following these annals, brought up in such a protected environment that he grew wholly unaware of the inevitable lot of humanity which has no escape from its constitutional elements of old age, disease and death. However, on four successive visits to the pleasure-gardens, the prince was shown by deities four certain signs, *i.e.* an old man, a diseased man, a dead body and a monk. Questioning his charioteer about these curious persons, the *bodhisattva* comes to know the basic truths of life, which had been heretofore unknown to him. And disgusted with the life full of woe and misery, the prince renounced worldly pleasures in order to find a way out.[370]

The special contribution of the Mv. to the existing records of the encounter is that the account is remarkable for its characteristic approach to the whole episode. The four scenes are not introduced as fortuitous manifestations which alone became the impetus that paved the way to a radical change of the *bodhisattva*'s outlook, but as just one of the factors which stimulated him in the regular development of his spiritual aspirations. Let us see how our authority deals with the story.

The narrative opens with a similar description as found in the

first account, wherein the *bodhisattva* is seen thinking of leaving home so that he might lead the complete religious life.[371] This was evidently the indubitable expression of his inner conscience, grown out of his self-denying attitude as well as sympathetic nature, which is invariably found echoing in older Scriptures. Determined to renounce the mundane life, the *bodhisattva* was longing for retirement from the world. First he would as a loyal and obedient son always would, think of leaving home with his parents' permission. Thus he seeks the consent of his father,[372] who tries to dissuade him. He forwards a whole series of supplications accompanied by arguments as well as tears, to persuade his son to alter his mind. First he appeals to Siddhārtha's compassionate heart, full of filial love, that he would die if the son were to leave home, and then, replacing those thoughts of selfishness with feelings of love, expresses his fear that the delicate body of the prince would be exposed to horrible sufferings in the jungle.[373]

It is important that Śuddhodana's protest does not refer to the idea of Universal Monarchy. He simply appeals to his revolting son's love and psychological conviction of security and comfort in the palace. And then, not failing to foresee the imminent tragedy of losing the beloved son, he takes measures to prevent the catastrophe. Śuddhodana is said to have sought help from the five hundred royal families representing the administrative body of the Śākyan territory, who rushed forthwith to press and implore the prince. The Pali tradition makes no mention of such a situation, but the Northern tradition affirms the Mv. narrative in this regard.[374] The *bodhisattva* was gradually turning out to be a stoic and apathetic person, despite the elders' efforts to tempt him with all luxuries and worldly allurements.

With regard to the background of the *bodhisattva*'s religious vocation the actual cause which eventually brought in the definite abjuration of household life, we can gather from the Mv. sufficient data to visualize a clear picture. We saw in its germ-state the inner tendency of the prince to prefer a solitary atmosphere. The infant *bodhisattva*, as featured on the occasion of Asita's visit, used to meditate in his cradle, and again we found him in his years of mental development disturbed by sorrowful scenes, retiring to complete seclusion for meditation. What

is more, the tradition makes no attempt to hide the fact that he had already attained the initial accomplishments in the spiritual career. That he was extremely compassionate and tender-hearted, too, we can well deduce from what the tradition records about his early childhood and youth. Constant awareness of the bitter experiences of the misery of life must have already led him to make up his mind to sacrifice his own life in the quest of a perfect remedy.

The Buddhist tradition insists that the *bodhisattva* was not allowed to acquaint himself with the real conditions of life and death on account of Śuddhodana's well-designed project of virtual imprisonment for his son. According to such accounts freely developed in various schools,[375] Śuddhodana, being apprehensive of the prophecy that the prince would renounce the world by witnessing the four scenes relevant to senility, disease, death and ascetic life restricted Siddhārtha's movement and prevented such scenes from being witnessed by the ignorant youth. This is, needless to say, a poor explanation of the complicated situation, and it has naturally been the target of criticism and suspicion of many modern observers.

It is hardly credible that the *bodhisattva*, intelligent and contemplative, could not notice the flux of change so explicit in all aspects of day-to-day life. The Mv. does not on its part try to uphold such a state of mental inefficiency, nor does it imply that the four encounters brought a sudden realization to the *bodhisattva*. As for death and sorrow, the *bodhisattva* could on no account be unconscious of these realities. He must have been aware of his own mother's death,[376] and the very dialogue between the father and the son divulges that the prince knew all that he should have known about death and decay. Śuddhodana, who is seen in Pali sources making frantic efforts to veil the facts from the prince's eyes, himself speaks about death.[377] And in the final night, he was reminded of the cemetery as he was watching the sleeping women. Besides, that the prince was aware of these realities even before the symbolic Four Sights is glimpsed in the Pali references also.[378]

The king bestows the prince with all comforts and requirements so that he may forget the sorrowful thoughts haunting his mind. The texts elaborate how Śuddhodana provided him with spacious quarters for his women, supplied him with plenty

of girls, made available for him all sorts of worldly pleasures and so on.[379] Dance and music, fun and frolic, and articles of the highest quality of sensual gratification began to flow. But the *bodhisattva* was not to be coaxed and cajoled with what he had already recognized as the absolute cause of all woe and misfortune, and, our text continues, he found no satisfaction in all that as he would rather delight his heart with the very thought of leaving home.[380]

In sequal to the desperate persuasions of Śuddhodana, there follows a didactic discourse. It sounds more as coming from the favourite pulpit of the Buddhist clergy than from the lips of a young prince; nevertheless it does emphasize the very facts of life which Śuddhodana was supposedly so keen to hide from Siddhārtha. In the form of a convincing answer to his father's plea, the prince asks for certain boons, on the granting of which was dependent his remaining at home. "Now I am in youth; let old age never come upon me. Now I am in health; let disease never come upon me. Now I am in life; let death never come upon me. Now I am in joyous prosperity; let adversity never come upon me."[381]

His first and foremost duty in such circumstances was, he thought, to go in search of immortality (*amṛta*). It should be remarked here that the account places all these arguments and counter-arguments before referring to the legendary encounters with the four scenes. The idea of renunciation had already occupied his mind before the confrontation of these apparitions. The path leading to spiritual liberation (*mokṣa*) was gaining a ground in his mind, and the knowledge of what the diviners had predicted perhaps gave additional strength to this thought. If the legendary descriptions of the stories of the soothsayers' and Asita's visit are based on the memory of a series of historical events, there is no reason to think that Siddhārtha did not know of those prognostications.

After indulging a bit more in elaborating how Śuddhodana tried again and again to distract the prince's mind by means of the monotonous process of temptation, the text proceeds to the well-known interlude of the Four Sights. Dealing with the Mv. version of the story, we have to bear in mind that the Mv. narrative is more or less independent and distinct from other sources. The *bodhisattva* is seen in our text thinking on

his own accord to visit the park,[382] and this does not appear to be an infrequent type of excursion as the LV. chooses to put it.[383] Nor was it the first time of such a visit as Aśvaghoṣa puts it.[384] The prince, we may safely think, used to visit the gardens from time to time, and this particular visit was but one of them.

The king, however, did not forget to see to it that special arrangements should be made to prevent the prince from witnessing unpleasant things such as aged, diseased and deformed ones, etc.[385] It was done so, not because such sights would become a revelation to the *bodhisattva*, but because such objects might pain the tender-hearted prince. And naturally, removing unpleasant things was accompanied with setting pleasant things. But it is obvious from what follows that the deep-rooted canker of misery and commiseration was never to leave the prince's soul. Driving towards the pleasure-gardens, he happened to see many attractive things, but he keeps silence, sitting all alone in the chariot. Not a word of appreciation or exhilaration was uttered, and amidst all those sumptuous ostentations that his father had arranged all along the road to the gardens, he was probing his mind as to what step he would take to solve his dilemma.

And suddenly he saw an old man.[386]

Despite all amusements and attractions along the roadside, the prince did not fail to notice the presence of the old man, for it was something that appealed to his heart. At the unexpected confrontation of the miserable sight, he does not become curious, as is the case in other versions, which strongly suggests that the figure was not unfamiliar to him altogether. He does question the charioteer about the old man, but his question is not an inquisitive query asking 'Who is he?', but rather a sympathetic expression to the effect 'Why is he so?', *i.e.* why is he so discarded and looked down upon by others? The *bodhisattva* was disturbed not that he saw an old man, but that the pitiful condition of the old man was despised by others. It was a shock to the prince's mind that nobody seemed to bother about the aged man. Aśvaghoṣa's statement that these scenes were not seen by anybody except the prince and his charioteer[387] may be understood as conveying that nobody else paid attention to them as they did not mean anything to anyone else.

The answer of the charioteer also indicates the fact that he

was not teaching the *bodhisattva* a new lesson about some hitherto unknown phenomenon, but was trying to divert his mind. The charioteer simply asked the *bodhisattva* not to bother about an unknown old man. "O prince, what is the man you ask about to you?" Says Chandaka, "Let us go on to the park and let your royal highness divert, enjoy and amuse himself with the five pleasures of the senses."[388]

He was shattered and overwhelmed with grief as he automatically thought about the common misery to be shared by one and all. How could one neglect such a scene, as the charioteer suggests, when one is oneself liable to that condition?[389] The *bodhisattva* was so disturbed at the thought that he returned to the palace without going to the gardens.

The same procedure is repeated in relation to the succeeding scenes of the sick man and the dead body. The relevant conversations between the prince and his charioteer reveal how he had been familiar with those experiences.[390] The driver had not to take the trouble of explaining the gloomy truths of life to an ignorant youth who knew nothing beyond his own fanciful tiny world within the compass of the royal palace. On the contrary, the *bodhisattva* himself puts forward his comments on the pertinent situation, and speaks of them as being invincible and inevitable. At the sight of these three miseries he was overtaken certainly not by curiosity, but by pity, commiseration and alertness.[391]

The last of the four signs, *i.e.* the scene of an ascetic, was the substantial manifestation of the final solution to all preceding dilemma of life. Ascetic life was also most probably well-known to the *bodhisattva*, and such a sight served only to stimulate his long-cherished aspiration for that mode of life. Our text becomes very brief at this juncture, and confines itself to merely presenting the few words exchanged between the monk and the prince. Southern tradition elaborates how an unprecedented peace came to pervade the *bodhisattva*'s mind after meeting the monk, and how he went to the park where he spent a long time.[392] Our text as well as the LV. observes silence in this regard.

The story of these four presages is one of the most susceptible aspects in the Buddha's biography, and scholastic erudition of our age would always find incredible elements infesting the entire narrative. "The story of the four visits to the park", E.J.

Thomas remarks, "is only the historicising of a canonical passage which knows nothing of these events."[393] Mrs. Rhys Davids puts it in a compromising way,[394] whereas others hesitate to believe whether the account bears a vestige of historicity or probability.[395] The scenes are not found depicted among pictorial representations of the Master's life, with the notable exception of Ajanta.

We cannot deny the obvious unconvincing character of the story as a whole, as it contains, quite naturally, the usual legendary features, allegorical expressions and tiresome repetitions. The account cannot of course be treated as a genuine record of pure history. But we shall not be doing justice to the ancient tradition if we were to brand the whole narrative as a mere fabrication of the Buddhist religieux who had no access whatsoever to a faithful tradition. We cannot dismiss the entire episode, which has been accepted by all forms of tradition with no exception, simply because it contains gross exaggerations and incredible inventions. Why is it improbable that the *bodhisattva*, who was contemplative by nature, would have happened to come in touch with some burning examples for his theoretical understanding and thereby became resolved to renounce the worldly life? It is not necessary to believe that he got all this experience in a similar manner through a repeated procedure, and we know that even the exponents of the ancient tradition did not agree among themselves as to the minor details of the episode.[396]

After all, many scholars have doubted the authenticity of it, and some of them have gone to the extremity of rationalization to invent a new story to replace the old. They perused the large volumes of Buddhist annals to find some references to the strife between the Śākyans and Koliyans over the water of the river Rohiṇī, and then imagined that such a communal war must have been the real factor behind the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation.[397] It should be borne in mind that neither canonical, nor commetarial references allow us to entertain such arbitrary inventions. It was not for any propaganda of political non-violence, but in search of a lasting solution to the problem of life and death that Siddhārtha Gautama left home. The relevant passages scattered throughout the canonical works make it crystal-clear that

the *bodhisattva*'s sole motive in his epoch-making step was to find out immortality against the inevitable fate of humanity.

The Mv. wholly supports the traditional view that Siddhārtha's renunciation was brought about by his impetuous reaction to the bitter experiences of life. The *bodhisattva* is said to have declared on his departure that he would never come back home unless he found immortality.[398] And the text lays stress on the fact that he, oppressed by birth, death, sorrow and tribulation went forth from home into homeless state in order to attain the way that leads beyond these miseries.

After the meeting with the monk Siddhārtha evidently made up his mind as to which path to follow. Whether he had already decided to run away without the parents' blessings, we do not know, but the violent tornado of psychic disquietude that had been tormenting him incessantly was now over, and serenity had permeated his mind. The Southern School attempts to elaborate the sublime, quiescent mental condition of the *bodhisattva* by magnifying how celestial beings came down to tender their service for the last time at the park in that evening.[399]

On the way back to the palace, he happened to hear an eulogy which was meant as an admiration of his extraordinary personality. A lady, who happened to set her eyes on the youthful prince in the street was struck with his charming appearance whence her emotion burst out in the form of a song of praise. "Blessed verily is your mother", she sang, "and blessed too your father. Blessed also is the woman whose husband you will be."[400]

The verse is found recorded in almost identical words in different sources. The tradition has with one accord recognized the peculiar significance of the praise, but diverse authorities are not in harmony as to the singer's identification and the reward she got. According to the Mv. she was Ānanda's mother, Mṛgī the Śākyan maiden (*śākya-kanyā*).[401] Tibetan versions confirm the Mv. as they call her Mṛgī or Mṛgajā,[402] but Pali sources maintain that she was none other than Kisā Gotamī.[403] Both the names with their distinct specifications of Śākya-kanyā and Gotamī suggest her relationship with Siddhārtha. Aśvaghoṣa thinks it better she remain anonymous.[404]

As for her reward, our text tells us that being absorbed in deep thoughts the *bodhisattva* had no chance to make presents,

and that her appreciation soon assumed the form of disappointment. Pali works inform us that the *bodhisattva* sent her a valuable necklace as a token of gratitude, and she took it as an evidence of his love for her.[405] The Dulva goes further to make her one of the consorts of Siddhārtha, even though he was to leave home after seven days.[406]

The importance of this brief incident has been acknowledged from the oldest times, as it finally proved conducive to the *bodhisattva*'s renunciation. As he had made up his mind to follow the example of the monk whom he met down in the street he surely looked very attractive. Inner peace and tranquillity must have had their due influence on the outward appearance, removing from his countenance the explicit signs of dissatisfaction. It might be this serene appearance that evoked the sudden flush of admiration in the lady, to whom the prince was no stranger. The word she used thrice in her terse eulogy was *nirvṛta* (extinguished), which denotes the very antithesis of burning. The prince had become resolute to go in search of the way to the extinction of burning, the burning of life and death. And again, the verse refers to his mother, father and wife. In the circumstances, the *gāthā* is likely to have struck the *bodhisattva*'s mind as strongly implying that having himself extinguished, he would surely bring extinction (*nirvṛti*) to his nearest and dearest ones. No wonder his desire to leave home was more invigorated by the *gāthā*.[407]

He decided, according to our text, to renounce the world after seven days. References to the period of seven days in the Buddhist literature are in most cases conventional, and we need not give much weight to such time limits. But it may be remembered here that the Tibetan version holds that Mṛgajā, the singer of the *nirvṛti-gāthā*, had been seven days married to Siddhārtha when he left home.[408] Our text informs that the king had made arrangements for the *bodhisattva*'s consecration as the new successor to the Kapilavastu throne.[409] Unfortunately, our text does not contain details about what happened after the *bodhisattva's* return from the excursion to the garden. The LV. also presents nothing more than an arid description of the preventive measures taken by Śuddhodana and his supporters.[410] They had been vigilant against any attempt by the prince to run away, and we find all authorities elaborating how

Śuddhodana had constructed huge gates and high walls, as he was always apprehensive of the old prophecy.[411] Five hundred Śākyan nobles had assembled at Kapilavastu, either to participate in the ensuing coronation of Siddhārtha, or to assist the king in his desperate efforts to detain him at home.

From the Pali sources we learn that the *bodhisattva* was sitting alone after his return, thinking all the while about the monk whom he met a few hours before. The king sent musicians and ballerinas to entertain him, but they were only to receive the usual rebuff of indifference on the part of the prince. The *bodhisattva* fell asleep, and so did the girls, too.[412] At midnight Siddhārtha happened to wake up and set his eyes on the sleeping women. The biographers always show a peculiar interest in giving a full description of the repulsive scene that lay before the *bodhisattva* in the dead silence of that night,[413] and it became a popular motif for sculptural representations of the Master's life.[414] Our text depicts in a vivid style how those women resembled a heap of dead bodies, reminding the *bodhisattva* of the lurid vista of a horrible necropolis.[415] Some were clasping this or that musical instrument, and others were in disgusting postures. Some of them lay naked, whereas others made the scene more loathsome by making various abominable sounds.[416] Ironically enough, the girls sent by Śuddhodana in order to captivate his heart were thus directly becoming the impetus that would set him once for all on the right track.

And disgusted beyond expression, he became determined to leave then and there.

It is not obvious whether Siddhārtha was sleeping alone or with Yaśodharā. Some texts hold that she was sharing the same bed with him,[417] and Gandhara sculptures testify to this tradition as they depict her asleep while the *bodhisattva* was watching the sleeping seraglio.[418] The Southern School would have her sleep separately, with the newly born son in her bosom, in her own bedchamber.[419] Our authority, always ignoring the consort of the *bodhisattva* simply forgets her existence. It should be noted however that Rāhula is said to have been conceived that very night.[420]

The *bodhisattva* had no difficulty in carrying out his plan, except to face the weak resistance of Chandaka, his groom. As soon as Chandaka came to know of the prince's intention, he

tried to make the former change his mind, and it was no easy task for the *bodhisattva* to win his own servant to his side. And his favourite horse, Kaṇṭhaka, also offers resistance in its own way by neighing aloud so that the royal palace might wake up.[421] The Pali tradition differs from these sources in this aspect. Channa, who was ready at his service, brought the horse without any argument, and the horse was neighing only to express its sincere enthusiasm and gladness for being chosen for the great task.[422] And after all, who in the royal palace would care for a horse's neighing at midnight ?

Śuddhodana was not in a position to do anything as he was fast asleep with his five hundred supporters. Evidently, he had hardly expected such a sudden flight. But the legend knows how to put things, and imagination has no difficulty in explaining the passive attitude of the city as the outcome of the miracles of gods. We expect to hear of this miraculous intervention without which the flight would have been impossible, for we know that there was that huge gate which required five hundred men to open it.[423] Somehow or other, the gate was found open. The Mv. says that it was Supratiṣṭhita, a *yakṣa* born simultaneously with Chandaka, that opened the gate with the help of five hundred followers.[424] Aśvaghoṣa thinks that it opened on its own,[425] whereas the LV. and Pali versions give the credit to celestial powers.[426] Not satisfied with the simple act of co-operation on the part of the celestial powers, the legend goes further to entrust the Four Chief Gods with the honourable service of getting hold of the horse's hoofs.[427] so that nobody may be disturbed in their sound sleep under the heavy spell of divine beings.[428] Other works illustrate how Māra ventured at this moment to prevent the *bodhisattva* from running away, by means of the temptation of the Universal Rulership.[429] In our text it is Mahā-brahmā that comes to remind the prince of his promised glory,[430] but the latter goes away without heeding the temptation.

The *bodhisattva*, accompanied by Chandaka, thus makes the epoch-making departure, leaving behind his lovely wife and comfortable house. And the horse vanishes into the dead silence of the night. The tradition places the historical event on the full-moon night in the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July).[431]

He was twenty-nine years old.[432]

The whole account is over-burdened with portentious descriptions grown out of the legendary elements, but they do not entirely overshadow the original human aspect of the event. The *bodhisattva* was leaving his beloved home and city for good, and that, too, without his elders' blessing or consent. There was indeed a good reason for him to have a trace of sorrow at the bottom of his heart, and it was not so easy to break away, as he knew that there would be no return for many many years. Hence the *bodhisattva*, while going out of the city, entertains a strong wish to turn back to have a last look at Kapilavastu.

This simple act of humanity is flanked in legendary descriptions with two imaginative miracles. Firstly, the legend could not tolerate anything that would betray the slightest emotional frailty of the *bodhisattva*. But the dogmatic-minded authors could not delete everything they wanted from the ancient tradition, and as such, in order to amend the situation, they explained how the city-goddess of Kapilavastu implored the prince to vouchsafe a final look,[433] and how the latter granted this request. Secondly, and of course at a much later period, other authorities thought it would not sound proper that the *bodhisattva* should turn back, and so they made the whole city appear before him.[434] To have a desire to get a last look will not do so much harm to the character of Gautama as our biographers thought, and we find another fine example of the same characteristic in the Mahā-parinibbāṇa-sutta where the Buddha is described as having a last gaze on the city of Vaiśālī.[435] But the ancient reciters felt otherwise, and the Burmese biographer goes to the extent that the *bodhisattva* is there forced to "overcome that inordinate desire and denied himself this gratification".[436]

Scholars have adopted a strictly critical standpoint regarding the accounts of the Great Renunciation. Mrs. Rhys Davids wonders if it could at all be magnified as the 'Great Renunciation',[437] whereas Dr Thomas rejects the account as "a wholly fictitious legend".[438] His objection that *dahara* in the Mahā-saccaka-sutta denotes a very young boy and not a youth of twenty-nine does not seem favourable in the light of the ancient tradition. The expression is used to emphasize the blooming age of the *bodhisattva*'s prime youth, as he did not postpone the religious vocation till old age deprived him of the ability to

enjoy life.[439] That some admirers of the Buddha referring to his renunciation do not mention any peculiarity connected with his adopting the religious life[440] may prove nothing more than the simple fact that those admirers, living far away from Kapilavastu, had not yet heard the details of his renunciation.

In Search of Truth

Riding towards the country of the Mallas, the *bodhisattva* and Chandaka arrived at a certain settlement. The Mv. calls it Anomiya, situated twelve *yojanas* to the south of Kapilavastu.[441] As a matter of fact, the spot has not been very certain to the tradition, and texts speak at random about it. From the Pali sources we obtain the name Anupiya,[442] beyond the river Anomā, thirty *yojanas* away from Kapilavastu. The LV. speaks of a township called Anumaineya where the *bodhisattva* arrived after six leagues' journey on horseback.[443] The Chinese translation of the AbhiS. has *Mi-ni-ka* (or *Ho-ni-mi-ka*)[444] the transliteration of a name more in affinity with that in the LV., but that place is only two *yojanas* away from the *bodhisattva*'s hometown.

Arriving at a place where no one could disturb his peace, the *bodhisattva* alighted from the horse. This will remain the last ride of the Master and the last journey of the animal. The *bodhisattva* then removed from his person the ornaments which were no longer of any use for him. How and when these ornaments came to his possession, we have no idea about, since our text represents him taking only his suit of Kāśika clothes on his departure. Our surprise is doubled when we find him handing over not only ornaments, but also the royal sunshade.[445] It is probably the sculptural representations that first employed this symbol of royalty for signifying the *bodhisattva* on horseback, and then it was only a question of time for the same umbrella to find a place in textual narratives as well.

Chandaka was asked by the *bodhisattva* to take the sad news to the parents and relatives. Yaśodharā, for whom Siddhārtha can now have no heed whatsoever, was once again neglected.[446] In Sinhala annals we find him extending his message not only to Yaśodharā and his fellow-citizens, but also to his newly born son, Rāhula, whom he had not even seen properly. Our authors really feel little sympathy for Yaśodharā, and in contrast

with other biographers, they never become so emotional as to shed tears over her tragedy.

Kaṇṭhaka now becomes conscious of the painful separation from the beloved Lord, and tries to implore him. The Pali tradition records that the faithful animal died of a broken heart on the very spot,[447] whereas the Northern School would like it to survive until Chandaka reached Kapilavastu, so that the grief-striken family might at least see the horse.[448] However, the horse would not endure the wrench and would soon die of sorrow, strain and fatigue.[449] The animal was, however, immediately rewarded with a seat in the heavenly abode of Trāyastriṃśa.[450]

Having disposed of the ornaments and royal insignia, the *bodhisattva* now had to get rid of his hair and find a religious garb in place of his luxurious vesture. As for hair, the authorities are unanimous that the prince himself cut off his hair with his sword.[451] The Southern School adds a bit of peculiar miracle to the narrative by stating that the Buddha never required any shaving or hair-cutting since then.[452] The Mv. contrasts this as it relates how Upāli rendered his service as a barber to the Buddha.[453]

Obtaining an appropriate garb could have been a real difficulty, as the *bodhisattva* had no time to find such clothes in his unexpected flight from home. However, from a wandering hunter he acquired the saffron coloured garb in exchange for his expensive silken clothes. Chandaka would soon relate to the royal audience at Kapilavastu how the prince exchanged his clothes with a hunter.[454] Along with the growth of the legend the hunter was transmitted in due course into a divine apparition created by *śuddhāvāsa* gods.[455] The Tibetan authority recognizes him to be none other than Indra himself who came in disguise to help the *bodhisattva*.[456] The still more advanced stage of the legend represented in the Pali tradition was to remove the memory of the hunter altogether. Southern School select Ghaṭīkāra, who had already displayed his efficiency in connexion with the scenes of the Four Signs, to perform this duty,[457] whereas the Sinhala piety goes still further to inform us that the suit that he brought to the *bodhisattva* was the fourth one of its kind, found in the calyx of a large lotus manifested at the beginning of this fortunate aeon (*bhadra-kalpa*)

of five Buddhas.[458] The later accounts magnify how Siddhārtha's princely clothes were taken to heaven and how the king's agents, speeding in pursuance of the fugitive prince happened to witness the rare scene.[459]

It seems worthwhile to notice here the direction in which the *bodhisattva* chose to proceed. A premeditated scheme he had not, but he was certainly acquainted with the renowned position of Vaiśālī and Rājagṛha as centres of philosophical studies as well as spiritual profession. Hence he would certainly choose the road leading to those regions, but biographical records seem to imply that he was careful not to be too hasty in taking steps.[460] He scarcely had any prejudice against or favour for any religious system or philosophical view, and it becomes apparent from what follows that the *bodhisattva*, now an ascetic, did not entertain any thought of distinction between what are called Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic systems. What he was interested in was to find the supreme and permanent remedy for suffering, and wherever it was to be found, he would go. First he would visit some renowned ascetics and religious scholars, so that he might get himself accustomed with traditional practices, as well as manners and customs of contemporary monastic brotherhood. He would thus join the communities predominant in the region to the east of the Sadānīrā river, because, as Foucher remarks, "*pour grand et original que puisse être un homme, il commence par appartenir à son milieu et à son temps*".[461]

Various texts have recorded a number of religious scholars' names in connexion with the *bodhisattva*'s primary studies in religious vocation. According to the LV. he visited the hermitages of two brahmin religieuses, Śākyā and Padmā , and then went to Revata.[462] From the BC. we learn that it was the sylvan retreat of Bhārgava, the Brāhmaṇa ascetic.[463] In the Pali tradition, too, we find mention of the name, although Bhaggava was not the first one to be visited by the *bodhisattva*.[464] In our own text we find the *bodhisattva* favouring Vasiṣṭha the sage to be honoured with his first visit of the kind.[465]

Such a visit must have acquainted the *bodhisattva* with the principles and practices of ascetics so that the fresh neophyte of the Śākyan clan might gather necessary information regarding the prevalent religious systems. That was what actually

happened, according to other authorities, at these places.[466] But the Mv. digresses from this obvious opportunity to present a much needed philosophical discussion, and gives us instead a colourful description of Vasiṣṭha's overflowing exaltation over the charming beauty of the *bodhisattva*.[467]

Our text does not inform us of the *bodhisattva*'s object in this visit, except for making him announce his steadfast determination to attain the immutable and supreme bliss.[468] From other sources, however, it can be gathered that he was informed of the contemporary religious teachers like Ārāḍha-kālāma and Udraka-rāmaputra. And so, Gautama the ascetic, fresh from the royal palace of Kapilavastu, sets out for the renowned cities where those teachers lived.

And thus starts the search for truth, which would last for the next six years.

The question of the *bodhisattva's* spiritual teachers and the influence of contemporary philosophical systems on Buddhism has been controversial over centuries. It is quite clear of course that Buddhist texts do not specifically refer to any Vedic study in Siddhārtha's childhood and youth, but at the same time it is not altogether improbable that the Enlightened One might have possessed an acquaintance with Vedic and Brahmanical ritualistic systems. The Sāṅkhya school of thought, whether it influenced the Buddhist philosophy or not, was also known to the *bodhisattva* and he must have studied it during his quest for truth.[469] But only the two most prominent and influential of those teachers find mention in the biographical accounts. Our text also preserves the same two names, *viz.*, Ārāḍa Kālāma and Udraka (or Rudraka) Rāmaputra.

Ārāḍa Kālāma, a famous teacher of his time, had founded his abbey in the great city of Vaiśālī.[470] He is described as having been "well-known, respected and renowned", and had three hundred students under his able guidance. These followers of Ārāḍa (Pali Āḷāra) are called *jina-śrāvakas*, probably signifying their close relationship with Jainism. Our text does not elaborate his way of religious practice, and the tradition has very little to say about him. Scholars have noticed that his teaching has some affinity with Sāṅkhya philosophy,[471] and Aśvaghoṣa's elucidation of Ārāḍa's views[472] is regarded as supporting such speculations. He is unanimously spoken of as

having attained the transcendental state of nothingness (*ākiṃcanyāyatana*),[473] but Dr Malalasekara expresses his doubts as he writes "whether this statement is handed down with any real knowledge of the facts of his teaching, it is not now possible to say."[474] There are some accidental references to his unusual power of meditation in the texts,[475] which suggest that he was really in an advanced stage of progress as far as the concentration of mind was concerned.

Siddhārtha Gautama was received there with friendliness, and Ārāḍa had all reason to be pleased to have him as a novice. The *bodhisattva*, as our authority reports, soon mastered himself in his primary instruction as well as in theoretical expositions, whereafter he was entitled to receive further instruction towards the attainment of the final goal of his system. The *bodhisattva* proved to be the best student Ārāḍa Kālāma ever received. The courage, intellect and fervour being incomparable, as our authorities always emphasize, he would not be satisfied with anything less than the quintessence of the teacher's metaphysical training. The student soon begins to think in terms of equality with the teacher in the matters of will, strength and mindfulness; and the *bodhisattva* gradually attained the same stage of the spiritual progress as Ārāḍa Kālāma.

But this was far from the immutable and supreme bliss that the *bodhisattva* had been craving for. He enquired of his teacher if his doctrine could lead one beyond the metaphysical state of nothingness, whereupon Ārāḍa confessed to the great distress of the *bodhisattva* that his knowledge did not permit progress beyond that. Gautama found no necessity for staying further at Ārāḍa's, and refusing the latter's invitation to share the honour of leadership with him, he left the seminary for more extensive exertions in the noble quest for the final happiness.

Begging for his meals, sleeping wherever climate permitted and wandering here and there to find suitable teachers, the Śākyan ascetic finally arrived in Rājagṛha. Udraka Rāmaputra, the distinguished religious leader was living in this city.[476] He is said to have attained to the state of 'neither-consciousness-nor-nonconsciousness' (*nevasaṃjñā-nāsaṃjñāyatana*), another transcendental stage in the yogic process towards spiritual liberation. He was enjoying the following of some seven hundred disciples who are also called *jinaśrāvakas*. Having approached

Rāmaputra, the *bodhisattva* received instruction under his guidance, and with the same courage and mindfulness that he exercised under Ārāḍa, our ascetic attained in spiritual purification a stage equal to his teacher's own accomplishments. The result of this success was not different from that of the previous one; and thus we find the *bodhisattva* expressing his dissatisfaction over the limitations of his achievements.[477] The LV. spoils the simple picture of the *bodhisattva*'s quest, as represented in our text, by adding that he went to Rudraka only with a premeditated objective of showing the futility of worldly trances.[478]

The relevant passage of the Mv. fervently elaborates how Udraka Rāmaputra also invited Gautama the *bodhisattva* to share his group of disciples with him; an offer made as a gesture of the teacher's deep concern over the beloved disciple's proposed going away.[479] The Pali tradition is of the opinion that he expressed his willingness to set the ingenious student over the whole company of *śrāvakas* if only the latter agreed to stay there.[480] This may appear to a modern mind as a bit of exaggeration betraying a superfluous attempt to magnify the *bodhisattva*'s greatness and supremacy at the cost of the teacher's respect.[481] How can it be proper for a loyal student, they would ask, to become equal to his teacher?

On the student's part it was of course not fair to entertain such audacious thoughts as to emulate his own spiritual guide; a sign of misbehaviour and immorality that has certainly been condemned in Buddhist ethics and disciplinary codes. But this would not overshadow the teacher's right to bestow such an honour upon a deserving student. Here we are told only of how two aged teachers sought to entrust their respective groups of novices to that youthful intellect who proved to be the best scholar they ever had within the walls of their seminaries. The passage evidently contains its due proportion of legendary touch, notwithstanding that it was no unusual phenomenon in the ancient Indian mode of spiritual training. In the traditional accounts we find how Sañjaya made a similar offer to Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana at the point of their breaking away.[482]

Dissatisfied with the limited success in metaphysical training and not interested in becoming an incomplete teacher, the

bodhisattva leaves Udraka in order to expand further his search for the sublime truth.

While going for alms in Rājagṛha, the *bodhisattva* is said to have met King Bimbisāra. The second account of the Great Renunciation describes the event as having occurred betwixt the *bodhisattva*'s visit to Rājagṛha and joining the seminary of Udraka. Like other authorities, the Mv. presents the narrative in a versified form.[483] Following the Mv. account, we learn how Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, happened to set his eyes on the stately ascetic who was begging his alms in the city street. At the first look he judged that this was a person who certainly hailed from a reputable family,[484] and sent messengers to find out his whereabouts. After describing the king's fortunate meeting with Gautama at the Pāṇḍava hill, the text continues to state in an unsophisticated way how Bimbisāra tried to offer wealth to the *bodhisattva*. Referring to his own wealthy home which he had just renounced, Siddhārtha refused his kind offer. He promised the king, however, that he would come back after becoming enlightened, and left.[485]

Comparing the Mv. version with other biographical sources, we cannot fail to realize what great significance has been attached to the royal meeting by different schools. It is to be noted that the story is related in later annals with much more legendary embellishments. People in Rājagṛha were according to such ornate descriptions of poetical imagination, so astounded and moved to see his supernatural beauty that they ran in excitement to the king to inform about him.[486] It was a busy day for the king, says the commentary to the Pabbajjā-sutta, and a large crowd had gathered in the palace court for the royal audience after seven days' festivities.[487] However, all accounts agree that the king saw him for the first time through a window of the palace. The Pabbajjā-sutta and the Mv. version say that it was Bimbisāra's first acquaintance with the *bodhisattva*, but in the eyes of enthusiastic biographers of the Master, he could not be unaware of the marvellous prediction and the subsequent renunciation of the Crown Prince of Kapilavastu.[488] According to the AbhiS. Bimbisāra's spies had brought the intelligence of the prediction regarding the prince's ensuing accession to the Universal Lordship.[489] The simple offer of wealth (*dadāmi bhogaṃ*) by Bimbisāra was also aggrandized to

the tune of half a kingdom.[490] The reference to the *bodhisattva*'s promise to reappear when he became enlightened finds place generally in all forms of the tradition, with the conspicuous exception of the Sn. However, this solemn promise is not found recalled by either party in the historical meeting which took place after several years. The king, at any rate, is represented there as saying that his long cherished wish to see a Buddha was now fulfilled.[491]

Modern scholars call in question the authenticity of these accounts. The record of the meeting, according to Winternitz, is "rich in legendary features and mythical accessories."[492] Dr Thomas refutes its historicity mainly due to the fact that it has not been referred to in so-called 'earlier parts' of the tradition. In the first version of the Enlightenment embodied in the Mv. he finds "an earlier account which like the earliest Pali knows nothing of the Bimbisāra story."[493] In the opinion of these scholars the incident "can hardly be regarded as historical and seems to have been invented for the greater glory of the Buddha."[494] But the possibility of regarding these accounts as not knowing anything about all of those things of which they make no mention is, to a certain extent, questionable, as they seem to speak only about the main events which are directly connected with the Enlightenment.

As Śreṇika Bimbisāra is figured as one of the most powerful monarchs of the day, no wonder if the rival religious groups should like to introduce him as favouring their own side. Jain authorities find it a special privilege to speak of Śreṇika as a close relative of Mahāvīra, and an ardent follower of his teaching.[495] Noticing side by side the Buddhist claim of Bimbisāra's love and loyalty to the Buddha and the Buddhist faith, it may rightly be inferred that the unbiased king used to pay courtesy calls to, and hold friendly discussions with ascetics, regardless of the sect or system they belonged to.[496] Taking into account this attitude of the Magadhan king, the said meeting does not seem wholly improbable.

The Practice of Mortification

The *bodhisattva*, wandering from place to place in continuation of his quest for truth, finally arrived at Gayā, the small township on the bank of the river Nairañjanā.[497] The spot seemed to be

particularly attractive and befitting for spiritual perseverence. The *bodhisattva* saw a belt of woods which could prove the best place for a long-term course of self-mortifications, for it was "delightful, lovely, secluded, sequestered, remote from turmoil, remote from men, and growing in seclusion amid charming lakes."[498] Roundabout there were settlements from where an ascetic could get his sustenance. Thus he selects that locality as the best place for his intended course of experiments.

The reasons for the *bodhisattva*'s preferring this locality as the suitable place for carrying out his exhaustive scheme of spiritual progress are quite clear. Evidently he was now determined to persevere to the extreme point of his search for the sublime enlightenment if it was ever attainable. As he had already experienced different courses of religious practice and realized their unsatisfactory condition, he would now prefer to follow his own methods of experiments. It might take a very long course of time, and at this predestined place of peace and solitude, there would be no disturbance for his day and night perseverences. Remarkable he thought even about its notable advantage of having villages for seeking alms (*samantena gocaragrāmāni*).[499] The *bodhisattva* seems to have decided that he would first adopt the way of *yoga* practices relating to inhalation and exhalation, during the period of which he might require food to keep his body and soul together.

It is interesting to notice how the *bodhisattva* could win the villagers' favour before long, as he is seen returning from a place where Pūrṇa Kāśyapa could not receive any hospitality.[500] At Senāpati-grāma of Uruvilvā, the *bodhisattva* is said to have come in contact with Sujātā, the daughter of the village head. The Mv. adopts a peculiar tradition in this regard, unknown to the Pali authorities. According to this tradition, as preserved in our text and the LV., Sujātā began to develop a friendship or rather a deep sympathetic attachment for the *bodhisattva*, and always welcomed him with delicious preparations of food. Our text contains an unusual but touching poetical expression of motherly love and concern for the *bodhisattva*, introduced as a sudden utterance of Sujātā.[501] According to this ornate poetical interlude, named as Sujātā-vyākaraṇa, the lady felt at first sight a strong affection for him, and coming to know, legendary as it is, from gods that he was the noble son of Śuddhodana, let her

emotion take the form of a pathetic utterance. She lamented over the pitiful fact that a delicate person like Siddhārtha was being exposed to the mercy of the climate, as well as to the harsh and coarse life in the jungle.[502]

This additional portion does not however seem quite symmetrical in its context, and appears to have been misplaced. It would sound more reasonable had it come from someone like Yaśodharā who had been closer to and well-acquainted with the princely ascetic.[503] In the account of Śuddhodana's meeting with the Buddha,[504] we find how the father expressed his feelings, as much sympathetic as admiring, about the stoic and austere life of his son.

Now that the *bodhisattva* had found the suitable environment and become clear-minded as to the ways and means of experiments for sublime enlightenment he started to practise extreme austerities affecting the body and the mind. At the very outset of his surpassing self-mortifications, he clearly understood that the mortification of body and mind were both to be restrained strictly. This valuable conviction was in sequel to the three characteristic similitudes enumerated as having occurred to his mind while he was as yet in the primary stage of his mortifications at Uruvilvā.[505]

These three similitudes are regarded to be very significant, and more or less original to Buddhist thought. A man who is in need of fire cannot be expected to succeed in producing it as long as he keeps rubbing two wet sticks, himself staying in water. Nor would he achieve his object, even on the dry earth, by rubbing a damp fire-drill with another wet piece of wood. On the other hand, he may kindle a fire, observed the *bodhisattva*, if he were to rub two dry sticks, himself sitting on a dry spot. The same way, he concluded, one cannot subdue cravings for sensual pleasure until one restrains both body and mind alike.

His experiments in the field of self-mortification consisted of, just to repeat what has been discussed by many,[506] the two famous aspects of the traditional religious vocation, *i.e.* concentration (*yoga*) and penance (*tapas*). The *yoga* system as a distinct school had been known in the land, no doubt, but it is not easy to determine the mutual relation and influence between that particular system and yogic methods adopted and adapted by Siddhārtha Gautama. The Yoga-sūtra in its present form

with the *bhāṣya* of Patañjalī is definitely post-Buddhist,[507] and does not seem to qualify as a criterion in this respect. It may be remarked here that the breathing experiments practised by the *bodhisattva* are termed as not *tapas* and *yoga* but *prahāṇa* and *dhyāna*.[508]

Various texts give detailed elaborations of the *bodhisattva*'s unparalleled perseverences in the field of self-mortification.[509] These unequalled efforts can be grouped into two main divisions, *i.e.* perseverences in controlling the mind through meditation accompanied by various self-imposed penances, and experiments on food as a means to gain control over the body. Our text agrees in outline with other authorities, regarding his methods of vehement control of body and mind. His way of restraint was so violent and determined that hot perspiration poured out of his armpits and forehead even in the cold winter.[510] As a strong man might hold a weaker one, shaking and tormenting him, so his will got hold of his body torturing it to the maximum of self-inflicted tortures that his physical frame could endure. Gradually he began to withhold inhalation and exhalation for longer and longer times, and when respiration was thus suspended, there came from his ears a terrible noise such as issues from a blacksmith's bellows. And the peerless restraint reaches its climax as he strictly closed his mouth, nostrils and ears and felt as a tempest blowing against the top of his skull with such force that it seemed as if his head were cracked open with either a blunt or a sharp instrument. The dreadful pain reminded him of the horrible scene of killing a cow by cleaving the head with a sharp weapon.[511]

These experimental *dhyāna* practices having reached their uttermost end the *bodhisattva* inflicts upon himself the next series of mortifications, namely, from abstemiousness to the complete abstention from taking food. The *bodhisattva* was familiar with various types of dietetic experiments followed by ascetics, and he now adopts similar methods.[512] He reduced his daily meal to a single grain of jujube, rice or millet, and then finally refused even that. Artists and writers have immortalized the effects that these privations had on his physical entity.[513] As he deprived himself of all nourishment, his limbs became so emaciated that they resembled the joints of creeping plants. His jaw became like a goat's or buffalo's hoof (*ajapadaṃ vā uṣṭrapadaṃ vā*)."

Just as in a tumble-down stable the rafters within on both sides are uncovered and stand revealed and disclosed, so did his gaunt ribs within stand revealed and disclosed."[514] His spinal vertebrae were now like the rough weave of a braid, and his charming eyes buried far down deep in their sockets, dim to the sight, just like the reflection of stars at the bottom of a deep well in the last month of summer.[515]

These mortifications are, as Dr Law points out, in harmony with the practices of a Jain muni,[516] but as a whole the description gives us the impression that he followed all known ways of torturing oneself, without being discriminative. Oldenberg passes the whole description as a part of the legend, invented with a view to surpass asceticism of other sects and to show the utter futility of these extreme mortifications.[517] Doctors of Buddhist thought did not fail to grab the opportunity as a secure stage for demonstrating the frivolous nature of severe penances, of course, and the Buddha would announce their futility in his first sermon.[518] Still this may not imply that the narrative is more fictitious than factual, as we have no reason to doubt that the *bodhisattva* followed for sometime the religious practices of contemporary asceticism before he found his own path.

Other sources present us more details of his strenuous efforts relevant to a third category of his mortification. These penances included self-imposed corporeal tortures of various descriptions, such as sitting immobile, exposing himself to heat and cold, enduring tremendous pains and inflictions and so on. He sat all alone at night in thick jungles where malignant spirits were supposed to haunt, and sometimes ate filthy dung sitting in a posture resembling that of an animal.[519] He became so changed in physical appearance that some village boys and girls took him for a repulsive demon and made fun of him in a rude and violent manner.[520] Our text admits the fact that he reached a stage so near death: the complete collapse of all perseverences beyond which no living being could go in self-mortification. But, to his extreme dejection he found himself no nearer the goal, and the utter futility of all these rigid austerities as a means to attain Enlightenment was now undeniable.

The Mv. represents, it should be remarked, the older tradition which had not yet become overburdened with dogmatic speculations of later hagiography. The LV. author tells us that the

bodhisattva knew from the very beginning the uselessness of these mortifications, but still followed them just in order to convince the world of their infructuous character.[521] It seems as though the expounders could not accept any thought recognizing that the *bodhisattva* could make mistakes through ignorance. Pali commentaries do not agree among themselves on the point and explain it in different ways. According to some, it was only to show his unequal courage and strength that the *bodhisattva* wished to go through mortification,[522] whereas another commentary seems to hold that he practised austerities for six years not knowing which path to follow.[523] Furthermore, the tradition informs us that Siddhārtha had to suffer all these dire tortures in consequence of a sin committed by him in a previous life.[524] Our authority passes no comment on the issue as the compilers were probably not conscious of these later dogmatic speculations.

Meanwhile, Śuddhodana would not be sitting idle. He is said to have sent some men to get information about the prince,[525] and they brought the news of the *bodhisattva*'s austerities. From other sources we learn that Śuddhodana even attempted to bring him back,[526] but in vain. Yaśodharā on her part as a devoted wife proved her steadfast love for Siddhārtha by adopting the religious practices similar to those of her erstwhile husband.[527]

The texts are unanimous about the period of the *bodhisattva*'s austerities which lasted for six years.[528] The Mv. divides the whole period into four equal parts, allowing eighteen months for each. Our source illustrates how the *bodhisattva* kept a diet of jujube, sesame and rice, subsisting on a single grain of each kind for eighteen months, and the final eighteen months he took no food at all.[529] This is however of no chronological importance and seems to be a mere attempt to commit to memory the four stages of his austerities on food.

Now that he had found himself at the extremity of the unrewarding penances, beyond which no ascetic of the past, present or future could go, there came to his mind the desperate realization that this ultra-asceticism was of no avail. Why not abandon this way altogether ?

Māra ventures to make his aggressive appearance at this juncture. He tries to induce the frustrated ascetic to abandon his perseverance for Enlightenment (*abhisambodhana*) and resume

the normal life. The text preserves a dialogue between Māra and the *bodhisattva*, in which the former tempts the latter with the comforts of home life.[530] The account is notable as an allegorical reference to the *bodhisattva*'s mental state of fatigue and dejection. In a lonely moment of frustration and nostalgia, his own subconsciousness reflects in the form of Māra, strongly tempting him towards changing the present mode of life and returning home.

But this duplicity he would soon overcome, and the determination to win the battle was more consolidated. Home he was not to return until and unless he found the remedy for the eternal problem of existence. But he should first change his way of experiment, as nothing except the clear conviction of the futility of asceticism was gained through all his strivings of those six wearisome years. And what then could be the right path that surely leads to the sublime realization of truth? Suddenly he recalled the effective meditation of his early childhood under the *jambu* tree.[531] This was perhaps, he thought, the path of emancipation. Why should he not apply it once again? Having decided to adopt that way of meditation, he began to return to normalcy; to improve his terribly weak physical condition by taking nourishment, *i.e.* first various kinds of juice and then solid food.[532] Coming to know of the *bodhisattva*'s thoughts, divine beings came to him with the suggestion that they could restore his health by means of a vital insufflation through his pores.[533] But the *bodhisattva* refused their help, fearing that he would be charged with being fraudulent. The *bodhisattva* expresses his wish not to be a hypocrite, but to take substantial aliment in an open way.[534] The tradition may be indirectly referring here to those sanctimonious crooks who, pretending to be strict and staunch in observing asceticism, lead questionable lives in degraded hypocrisy.

It was at this juncture that the five ascetics, who were attending to the *bodhisattva* in expectation that he would attain the perfect knowledge through those mortifications, left him thinking that he had strayed from the right path.[535] Are we to witness in this indignant step the contemptuous opposition of the traditional institution of Indian asceticism to the *bodhisattva*'s new turn in efforts for spiritual redemption?

Enlightenment

Having become energetic and hopeful, the *bodhisattva* was now ready for the final trial of the long fought struggle for sublime wisdom. The only thing he required for this far-reaching conquest was just one meal for a day and a place to sit down in peace. The tradition maintains that the *bodhisattva* was quite certain of his victory and the glorious consummation of his strenuous pursuit for he had dreamt five unusual dreams.[536] All these five dreams indicated the fulfilment of the *bodhisattva*'s objective and the subsequent success of his teaching. Although the Buddha's discipline and doctrine has no place whatsoever for superstitious conventions like the belief in repercussions of premonitory signs and dreams, the zealous propagators could not neglect the points of popular recognition of the time, whence we find Siddhārtha having propitious dreams before his grand success.[537]

Sujātā, whose affection for the *bodhisattva* we have already seen, proves to be the fortunate one to offer him the historical milk-rice (*pāyasa*) before the commencement of the great meditation under the Bodhi tree. She is generally referred to in all accounts of the Master's life. Two of the accounts of the Enlightenment in the Mv. mention her offering without going into details, but the other reference furnishes us with enough information about the pious lady. She was, as we have already noticed, the daughter of the village headman of Senāni-grāma, and had been well aware of the *bodhisattva*'s mortifications. On the pre-destined day, she prepared a special milk-rice and offered it to the *bodhisattva* in a golden bowl.[538]

Having accepted the offering, Gautama the ascetic walked to the river Nairañjanā, where he had a comfortable bath after so many years of prolonged practice of morbid austerities. We find the legendary elements becoming more and more prominent in the narrative as the *bodhisattva* approaches closer to the Enlightenment. Large numbers of gods are invited to appear and sing the *bodhisattva*'s praise, and the celestial beings are described as being so eager to obtain a relic from the Buddha-to-be as he bathed himself in the river.[539]

After the bath, the *bodhisattva* partook of his food, which would be his only meal for the next forty-nine days or so. Sinhala annals describe how Gautama divided the milk-rice into forty-

nine parts as though he knew exactly what was to follow.[540] The golden bowl in which the meal was offered was left in the stream as it was of no more use for him: one more indication of his firm resolve to carry on his struggle for Enlightenment without caring even for physical requirements. And then he spent the rest of the day in the pleasant grove on the bank of the river Narañjanā.

Towards the end of the day-time, as the burning rays of the sun had died away and the cool breeze was making the atmosphere delightful, the *bodhisattva* left his retiring place. Having taken another wash in the cool water of that graceful river, he moved towards the spot where the Bodhi tree stood. On the way he met a grass-cutter, Svastika (Pali.Sotthiya) by name, and asked him for some grass, and received a few handfuls of grass from him.[541]

No other event in the Buddha's life is so colourfully presented in the Mv. as this extraordinary walking up to the victorious seat at the foot of the Bodhi tree. All varieties of superhuman and non-human beings are imagined to be rushing into the scene and give the event a magnificent colour by singing ornate eulogies and paying their deeply reverential homage to him.

The question whether he ever sat under a tree for this struggle for the realization of Ultimate Truth has been a point of considerable significance. It has been suggested that the tree was dragged into the story at a later period under the influence of the tree-myth.[542] But our objection to this presumption is that it was not at all improbable for an ascetic to select the foot of a shady tree for a long sitting during the dry hours of a summer evening. "Where else did the ascetic sit in India in Buddha's time", questions Oldenberg, "where else even down to our days do ascetics, who have no sheltering roof, and all vagrant folk, sit, but at the foot of a tree?"[543]

There was no need for Gautama to wait till the excessive scepticism came to dig out this or that mythological aspect to choose his triumphant seat (*aparājita-paryaṅka*) under the foliage of an *aśvattha* tree. The 'oldest' references to the locality of Uruvilvā make no mention of a Bodhi tree, needless to say, but we should be going astray if we fail to see that these references merely describe the place in general, as a new-comer might glimpse it for-

the first time. A grove finds mention even in those passages,[544] which sufficiently convey that the foliage of these trees was attractive in the eyes of wandering ascetics. We have no reason to suspect the authenticity of the unique reference to a Bodhi tree, a historical fact that finds mention even in early Inscriptions.[545]

The worship of the Bodhi tree, which is now a constituent in the threefold objects of homage for the Buddhist, may be shown at any rate as the Buddhist form of what was borrowed from the older Indian stock of cult and culture. Description of the *bodhisattva*'s circumambulating the tree before he sat down,[546] too, probably suggests its deliberate purport to exaggerate the efficacy of worshipping the Bodhi tree. The Master dedicated the second week after Enlightenment to paying due homage to the tree which sheltered him during the critical moment[547] and the Pali sources inform us how the Enlightened One encouraged his followers to respect and venerate the tree of the Enlightenment.[548]

Scattering the grass at the foot of the *aśvattha* tree, the *bodhisattva* sat down upon that provisional seat, looking to the east. This is the very place where, according to the tradition, all former Buddhas invariably sat to vanquish Māra and attain perfect Buddhahood, and our authors have already told us that the pre-destined Bodhi tree sprang up simultaneously with the *bodhisattva*'s birth.[549]

The 'throne' under the Bodhi tree, as we have seen, was a simple seat comprised of just a few handfuls of grass scattered probably on a slab of stone. The Southern School ascribes a grand magnificent throne of diamonds to it.[550] The fanciful idea finds a place in the Northern tradition also, but there it represents nothing more than the pure imagination of supra-terrestrial beings who rushed to witness the supreme event.[551]

No sooner he sat on the seat than he made a solemn vow, records the tradition,[552] not to leave that seat until and unless he achieves his goal by attaining to Buddhahood. Our text seems to be reticent with respect to such a resolve, all the same it conveys the same reflection of firm determination by way of illustrating the five feelings entertained by the *bodhisattva* under the tree. As soon as he occupied the seat, he is said to have enjoyed the strong conviction of security, happiness, efficacy, and

support in addition to the certainty that he was now to attain the Enlightenment definitely.[553] The actual resolution is also found expressed, though in a different patter, in the context of his answer to Kāla, the *nāga* king.[554]

Much stress has been laid on the importance of the seat, sitting on which the *bodhisattva* defeated the portentous army of Māra. It would even appear as if it were for the seat that the diabolic fight between the Great Being and the Evil One took place. The great importance attached to the tree and the Throne of Enlightenment is attested to in those statements which describe the qualities and peculiarities of the *bodhimaṇḍa*.[555] The AbhiS. makes the point clearer as it describes how Māra urged the Mahāsattva to leave the Bodhi tree and find another place for his unyielding meditations.[556] When all his weapons and the morale of his mighty army became exhausted, and the *bodhisattva* still remained sitting calm and unmoved, Māra challenges him to quit the seat for which he has no right whatsoever. This was Māra's last hope, it is understood, for as soon as the *bodhisattva*'s legal authority to the seat was established, Māra had no alternative but to run away, his tenfold army being vanquished. These allegorical delineations have led E. Senart to think that the real fight was fought for the tree and the seat.[557]

Both the tree and the seat have their own value, not of mythological or quasi-historical fantasy, but of symbolical objectivity. What was actually important was, we may remark, not the seat under that particular seat, but to remain there steadfast and resolute inasmuch as leaving the place after such a firm resolve would have meant nothing but complete defeat and failure for Siddhārtha.

It is almost impossible to have a glimpse of what the ancient tradition regarded as the story of the Enlightenment, without referring to its symbolical, mythological, and legendary aspects full of highly imaginative but trite colouring. The accounts are dominated by the formidable figure of Māra, accompanied by his impregnable army on the one hand, and by the innumerable hosts of benevolent gods who tried their best to encourage the Great Being with their high-worded but monotonous praises on the other; the human figure of the Śākyan ascetic, now blooming and vivacious, holding the central place in the prodigious tableaux. The Mv. presents three vivid elaborations of the

encounter,[558] each trying to surpass the other in majestic representation of the triumphant battle.

Māra the Evil One, threatened by the *bodhisattva*'s indomitable will to attain to the perfect Enlightenment, gathers his tenfold army and makes his aggressive appearance at the scene of Enlightenment. First he tries to persuade the recalcitrant ascetic by means of expostulations and temptations, but the *bodhisattva* would not budge. Māra's own sons and generals argue that the *bodhisattva*'s position is so invincible that Māra should not venture to attack. But the Wicked One, more enraged to see the enemy's agent among his own kith and kin, orders the onslaught. The *bodhisattva* remained unmoved, and our authorities tell us how finally Māra's forces had to abandon the fight which they could never win.[559]

The most crucial part of the struggle was now over. Māra's defeat marked his final overcoming of the strong and mutinous tumult of depravities and impurities of individuality, and now he had no obstacle in his way to the realization of the Ultimate Truth that leads to *nirvāṇa*, the emancipation from death and birth; from the very cycle of phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*). Entering the four consecutive stages of trance,[560] the *bodhisattva* then attained, through further meditation, the pure and sublime Realization (*anuttara-sambodhi*) during the night consisting of three watches.

The Buddha is said to have spent several weeks in the same locality, enjoying the fresh and sublime beatitude of the perfect redemption, for the attainment of which he left home six years ago. But, unfortunately, the tradition seems to be uncertain as to the number of weeks and the exact places where they were spent at. The LV. casually speaks of only one week,[561] whereas the Mvg. illustrates four weeks spent in the locality of the Enlightenment.[562] In later accounts this has been multiplied up to seven weeks,[563] evidently in order to fill the otherwise inexplicable gap between the Enlightenment and the First Sermon. Our authority follows the generally accepted view that the Buddha spent seven weeks at and around the victorious *bodhimaṇḍa*.

After The Enlightenment

Regarding the first week immediately after the *abhisambodhana*

there is no controversy among various authorities that it was spent sitting on the triumphant Throne (*siṃhāsana*) under the Bodhi tree.[564] Due to the exalted bliss of the newly discovered Truth, it was possible for him to sit there in beatific immobility. The Master used to sit for long hours, motionless and unfed, during the unsurpassed strivings and even after this memorable period, he would spend many weeks that way.

The second week was spent paying homage to the tree of Enlightenment, as our authorities seem to hold. Standing at a distance, motionless and unblinking, the Buddha expressed his gratitude towards the sacred tree that provided him shelter during his solitary struggle for immortality.[565] But it is remarkable that the Mv. holds that the Buddha was gazing on the Bodhi tree simply out of the rapture that he was still enjoying.[566] After spending a whole week in the singular posture of yogic *paryaṅka* (with crossed-legs and body erect), it was but natural for him to keep standing for some time, by way of recompense. In this the pious elders recognized the sterling opportunity for inculcating one of the foremost principles of ethics, *i.e.* to be grateful towards even an inanimate object that served one in the slightest degree.[567] We cannot preclude the possibility that the Buddha may have in later times enlightened his disciples as to his feelings of gratitude for the Bodhi tree, nevertheless it seems more likely that the idea of the Master's paying homage to the Bodhi tree was given weight in the light of the developing practice of worshipping the sacred tree. It is also to be noted that the Vinaya accounts make no mention of this.

The third week was spent walking to and fro, which answers to the third of the four postures of meditation sanctioned for the Buddhist monk. The tradition deems it proper to assure the faithful once again that the Exalted One was now beyond all temptations; and to illustrate this, authors introduce the smart but impudent attempt of Māra's three daughters to allure the Buddha. This additional contribution of legendary invention which Foucher describes as *aussi inutile que déplacée*[568] does not seem quite necessary unless the compilers were determined to make Māra himself appreciate the Buddha's insurmountable supremacy.[569] The AbhiS. preserves perhaps the more ancient tradition which knew the right place for the episode, as it relates the unsuccessful attempt as having occurred before Māra's

attack.[570] The texts are, however, keen in describing how the three daughters of Māra, whose names are known to the tradition as Tantrī, Arati and Rati,[571] came to ensnare the Buddha, ignoring the advice of their own father. They assumed the forms of beautiful women, representing various stages of feminine beauty,[572] but failed in their crafty attempts to captivate him. Finally, they assumed the form of aged women and tried to confuse the Buddha by asking enigmatic questions regarding the *dharma*.[573] The Buddha answered them so touchingly that all the three fled away.

The other four weeks are also said to have elapsed without human contact. The authors were probably careful not to allow any human being to come in contact with the Buddha, for there was no record of the Buddha's finding an admirer or follower immediately after the Enlightenment, although there must have been a good number of familiar men and women around the locality. The Pali version maintains that Huhuṃka, a certain brahmin who knew the Buddha since the period of his mortifications, came to the Enlightened One at Ajapāla, where he was spending the second week after the Enlightenment.[574] Our text places it at a later date, and sees to it that the Buddha remains absolutely in the company of non-human supporters.

The fourth week was thus allocated for Kāla the *nāga* king who displayed an ardent zeal in the events of immediate concern before the attainment of Enlightenment. He implored the Buddha to visit his place, where the latter spent a whole week.[575] The fifth week is particularly characteristic for the interesting happening at the abode of Mucalinda.[576] The sixth and seventh weeks passed by without any particular incident. The sixth week he spent under the banyan tree known to our text by the name of Ajapāla. The MV and some other sources explain this banyan tree as a huge *nigrodha* of peculiar origin. According to this tradition, a shepherd boy had planted this banyan tree specially for the sake of the *bodhisattva* while he was passing through his self-mortifications. Hence the name Ajapāla of that banyan tree.[577] The boy, now dead and reborn in heaven, came to invite the Buddha to bless him by a visit to that place, and the Buddha accepts the timely invitation as he was in need of a new place to continue enjoying his felicity. It was in the second or fifth week, as the Southern tradition understands,

that the Buddha was sitting at the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree,[578] and the different explanations of the name given in these sources suggest that there was no fixed tradition regarding these details.

The period of seven weeks elapsed, and the Buddha had not had any nourishment, hard or soft, upto the end of these forty-nine days.[579] Now, having spent such a long period with transcendental rapture as the only sustenance, the Buddha was badly in need of a meal, and the ancient tradition gives the rare privilege of offering the first repast to the newly appeared Buddha to two simple merchants, Trapuṣa and Bhallika, from the northernmost part of India.[580] They were coming from South India (*dakṣiṇā-patha*) with five hundred cart-loads of commodities. They were just passing by the grove where the Exalted One was waiting for someone to come thither. The caravan would have passed the locality without noticing the Buddha, had there not been the intervention of a supernatural power. Curiously enough for us, but in the most natural way for the legend, this very grove of *kṣirikā* happened to be the abode of some divine beings who had been relatives of these two merchants in a previous existence. Not only did they stop the caravan of five hundred carts and demand that some provision be offered to the Enlightened One, but they also led the two caravan leaders to the place where the Buddha was sitting patiently. Little wondered the reciters if it was befitting for a canonical work, which calls itself a part of the Vinaya, to represent the Buddha as accepting a meal that was being offered under supernatural instigation.[581] The Pali version, evidently aware of the vulnerability of the point, omits the additional feature of the gods' intervention.

The two merchants approached the Buddha with *madhutarpaṇa*, a certain kind of delicious and nutritious preparation available beforehand among their own stocks.[582] As the Buddha had no bowl to accept the offering, the Four Gods are called to bring a suitable receptacle. The legend prefers them to make their hasty appearance, each carrying a variety of costly bowls, so that they may provide the ground to display how the Buddha refused all those valuable receptacles, though it was at their bringing themselves to the ridiculous position of being ignorant as to the kind of bowl that would exactly suit the Buddha. The

golden, silver, and bejewelled receptacles were refused by the Tathāgata for they were not approvable for the simple life of a monk,[583] and this was what the texts were so keen to emphasize. Finally they brought four stone bowls. The Buddha accepted all four, thus providing a solid motif for the sculptors who were to depict the scene of Enlightenment,[584] and our text records how he welded them into one bowl by the pressure of his thumb.[585] It is further stated that the rims of the other three were also visible on it. More than one thousand years after, Hieuen Tsiang witnessed these rims still visible on the Buddha's bowl which had by then become an object of extreme veneration at Gandhara.[586]

A long address of blessing (*dakṣiṇā-ādeśa*) follows the great offering.[587] It is important to notice that the Enlightened One did not deliver any discourse, although the fact that he initiated them in the three Refuges[588] indicate the future pattern of his *śāsana*. The Buddha was in existence, and the *dharma* also had appeared though it had not yet been expounded. As for the *saṃgha*, which had not yet come into reality, the qualifying word *anāgataṃ* (future) removed the difficulty. Trapuṣa and Bhallika thus became the first adherents (*upāsaka*) in the Buddha's Dispensation. But they knew very well that there would hardly be another meeting with the Master who impressed them so much, as their home was too far, and so they obtained from the Buddha some relics, *i.e.* some hair and nails, which they might worship at home.

Setting The Wheel of The Law in Motion

The biographers admit the unique fact that an unforeseen dilemma concerning the subtle nature of the dharma arose in the Buddha's mind. Interested as he was to preach to the multitude as soon as the Enlightenment was attained, now that he was in the water, the Enlightened One began to feel the unfathomable depth of it. Sitting under the Ajapāla the banyan tree, the Buddha had to have a strange thought of hesitation (*cetasaḥ parivitarko*). Even if he were to preach the newly realized doctrine, he thought, people interested in sensual pleasures (*ālayārāmo...ālayarato ālayasamudito*) would scarcely pay heed to it. It would by no means be an easy task to convince the multitude

who were being carried away with the current. Would it not be more advisable to retire into oblivion?[589]

Whether this hesitation was authentic on the part of the Buddha or was invented merely to show the uttermost abstruse quality of the *dharma* and to elaborate on the enthusiastic support of the superhuman Lords, it is not easy to conclude. Biographers, or rather venerable reciters (*bhāṇaka*) do not demur to admit that the Buddha really faced this dilemma, a phenomenon rendered conveniently acceptable by the fact that the traditional explanation did not conflict with their orthodox viewpoint. According to this justification, it was the long-established tradition of all Buddhas that a newly appeared Tathāgata should have this thought whereupon the god Brahmā comes to plead with him.[590] Brahmā's entreaty is significant, they say, for people will naturally pay attention to the *dharma* when it is promulgated at his request. The advocates of this theory did not for a moment bother about the plain fact that the Buddha never attempted to convert anyone on the ground that he was prompted by Brahmā to preach his doctrine.

In the Mv. we can see how the expedition to the Buddha was multiplied as the accounts, evidently compiled from different traditions, add many other names to the galaxy of divine Lords who came to encourage the Buddha. Furthermore, the text has four versions of the relevant occurrence, each representing a different form of the tradition.

The first version is just a reference to the Buddha's uncertainty on the path to follow. The Buddha sitting under the Ajapāla the banyan tree began to ponder on the nature of humanity (*lokaṃ mīmāṃseti*). As he was concentrating his mind on the issue, it loomed to his mind's eye that his efforts to bring mankind home to this new teaching which required utter control of passion and renunciation of worldly life would be exceedingly difficult. Thus he wondered if it would not be convenient and discreet to remain silent,[591] and that was all. The reference is conspicuous for its silence over the request of Brahmā.

The second account[592] also speaks of the Buddha's hesitation, but differs from the first in elaborating how Brahmā rushed to the scene to plead with the Buddha. He comes, not alone, but accompanied by Śakra and other divine Lords with their

retinues, who form the aggregate of ten *yakṣa* Superiors.[593] Śakra and Brahmā implore the Buddha, and the text implies that Brahmā knew of the old tradition of the formal request (*purimakānaṃ samyak-sambuddhānaṃ darśāvi*), as elucidated in the Pali works. But both the celestial Lords fail in their expedition, for the Master remained adamant in his decision not to set the wheel of the Law in motion; and they disappear in distress.

The third account presents another distinct view, according to which Brahmā alone came to request the Buddha to start preaching and his intervention is not motivated by any thought of discouragement on the part of the Śākyamuni.[594] The Enlightened One is not represented as being disappointed about the character of the world, but he rejects Brahmā's ardent request by explaining to him the real nature of the world which was not likely to welcome the doctrine.

From the more popular tradition is derived the fourth version of the so-called *brahmayācanā*, and the Buddha's acceptance. Here, too, the Master's pondering on the paradoxical situation is omitted, and it particularly refers to the growing unrighteousness. Heresy was in its heyday in Magadha,[595] and Brahmā wants the Buddha to vanquish these heretical teachings. Brahmā approached the Tathāgata on this account not to induce and encourage, but to invite him by way of a formality.

These apocryphal elucidations and legendary details need not be allowed to overshadow the original significance of the statement on the Buddha's internal state of vagueness and vacillation. Truth is always for the wise, as the Exalted One proclaimed, whereas the poetical imagination coupled with a strong taste for legendary concoctions would appeal to popular belief. Brahmā's request may have been required at a later time for the swift spread of the *dharma* but it is beyond our comprehension why the Buddha wanted such an inducement, if we are to believe that it was for the sake of mankind that he inflicted on himself all those ordeals and pains of exertion, through aeons immeasurable, in order to attain this very Enlightenment which would enable him to preach, teach and show the path of deliverance.[596] How then could such a story creep into the genuine tradition ?

We can see that the Buddha's inner condition was quite

conducive to such uncertainty. Speculation over the subtle and profound nature of the *dharma*, which must have already prevailed over the inclination for rest and relaxation, was surely aggravated by physical weakness. After the excruciating perseverance in six years' mortifications, the Tathāgata had been so exhausted and fatigued that he could hardly endure any more strain. There are two scriptural references to his physical weakness immediately after the Enlightenment. One is in connexion with the Buddha's making a robe out of some hempen-rag given to him by a certain washer-woman sometime earlier.[597] The incident is placed in some works before the Enlightenment,[598] but our authority pleases to introduce the event as following the attainment of Buddhahood. Disregarding the supernatural assistance that was readily available, the narrative tells us, the Buddha went to the river to get the cloth washed, and found himself so strained and weary at the moment that he had of necessity to seek the help of a branch, bent down towards the water, in order to come out of the stream. The legend attributes the impediment to be a cynical trick of Māra, but the fact that the Buddha was physically in a weak condition is not to be overlooked.

The other incident refers to the Buddha's getting ill, whereupon Māra the *pāpīyān* approached him with the vicious request to pass away immediately.[599] Although the Mv. makes no mention of such a demand, yet it admits that the Buddha was taken ill after partaking of the devoted offering of honey and sweets of the two merchants.[600] It was cured, the tradition would have us believe, by the efficacious fruit of myrobalan (*haritaki*)[601] brought by Śakra, yet, during these wearisome and lonely (*rahogatasya pratisaṃlinasya*) moments of physical invalidity, there was no human assistance for him within reach. It was probably at this juncture that Māra appeared before the Buddha to persuade him to enter the perfect extinction (*parinirvāṇa*). The Buddha refused point-blank to be induced by the Evil One, and declared that he would promulgate the dharma for the sake of humanity.[602]

So it seems probable that the Buddha entertained for a moment some feeling of hesitation and inertness, merely out of exhaustion. The tradition, catering to the people's taste for miraculous events, brings Brahmā to disturb the Buddha's solitary

thoughts. Even then, the tradition did not try to hide the real facts, as is proved by the commentator's statement that the Buddha might still have physical strain and fatigue, though he was entirely immune from mental depression and melancholy.[603]

After this thought of hesitation, he further contemplated that there were three categories of people, analogous to the three kinds of lotuses in a pond. There are people either definitely good or definitely bad, who do not require the guidance of a Buddha, but the third category of men who are neither definitely good nor definitely bad by nature require a Tathāgata for they would realize the *dharma* if he preached to them, ando therwise their fate would not be happy. So he decides to start preaching, particularly keeping in mind this third category of beings.[604]

Taking into account the Buddha's first hesitation to initiate the propagation of the Good Law and the exquisite resolve that followed this momentary indisposition, one may interpret the Buddha's standpoint in the terms of *karma-yoga*. The Buddha would preach the Doctrine, and dedicate his whole life for the propagation of that Norm; but his would not be a labour motivated by narrow considerations of selfishness, but an impassive fulfilment of duty, with no active eagerness or craving for results. Granting the request of Great Brahmā to set rolling the noble wheel of *dharma*, the Buddha recalled indeed his vow "made seven incalculable aeons ago"[605] to redeem the world by showing the path of deliverance.

But this was the wish of a *bodhisattva*, who had all his desires, cravings and psychological imperfections yet to be overcome and fully abnegated. Now that he had become the perfect Enlightened One (*samyak-sambuddha*), there can be no room for any desire whatsoever in his mind, and as such, he will have no joy over success, nor grief over failure. It was purely out of compassion for humanity and all living beings (*hitāya-sarva-prāṇināṃ*), mingled with the sense of duty that the Buddha dedicated the next forty-five years of his life for the benefit of the world. The Buddha would preach the *dharma*; let those who are capable of comprehension benefit themselves by listening to it. The path of the dharma he will show to those who may hearken, and thus was made the decision to set the wheel of *dharma* in motion, "for such is the nature of all Buddhas, past, present and future".[606]

Even after deciding to set rolling the noble wheel of the true doctrine, the Buddha was specially careful to select the first receiver of the new message of the eternal Truth. That person, or the group of persons, was definitely to be from the *élite* of society so that the movement may assume a dynamic form from the very outset. Remarkable is the fact that he took no interest to introduce the new Teaching to those fire-ascetics of Uruvilvā, the three Kāśyapa brothers and their followers, whose presence was no doubt known to the Buddha. Taking into consideration the physical condition as well as the evident obstacles in convincing the passion-blind masses (*andhabhūte puthujjane*) of the subtle Norm, the Buddha was keen to choose the most suitable one to be privileged by the first preaching. Although the message of Buddhism was extended for the welfare of all living beings without distinction, yet the quintessence of the *dharma* was to be imparted only when one's mind was fit for receiving it.

Hence the Master first thought about going to his former teachers, Udraka Rāmaputra and Ārāḍa Kālāma, only to find that both of them had died within the past few days, while he was enjoying the prolonged period of sublime felicity.[607] Remarkably, the Mv. does not call, as done in other authorities, a divinity to bring the intelligence of their death, though the supernatural power is not less employed in the text to enhance the supreme glory of the scenery.

Writers have regarded the account as indicating that the Buddha was interested in his former teachers and the five ascetics, erstwhile co-workers of Siddhārtha Gautama, because of his gratitude towards these persons. Ancient sources, too, do not seem to preclude the validity of such a reasoning on the part of the Buddha.[608] Grateful the Buddha was of course to them, but this does not appear to be the immediate reason for his recalling them. If gratitude were the sole impulse, the Śākyamuni ought to have thought of many others such as his father, Chandaka and Udāyin, etc. On the contrary, his immediate search for him "who is pure, of little defilement, with little dust in his eyes, who is competent to understand the *dharma* when it is first preached and would not be annoyed with me when he hears it"[609] proves that the first hearer was necessarily expected to understand the *dharma*. The most important qualification for the first hearers was that

they should be wise and competent.[610] After all, the feeling of gratitude was also one of the factors that led him to choose the five ascetics who were now in the Deer Park (*mṛgadāya*) at Ṛṣivadana (Pali. Isipatana) of Vārāṇasī.[611]

So the Buddha decides to go to Vārāṇasī. We need not tarry on the legendary imagination of thaumaturgical interest to dazzle our eyes to see how celestial beings do their best in decorating the road from the Bodhi tree to Vārāṇasī with all the then known precious materials, ascribing to the journey the colour of a magnificent march of a Universal King.[612] Two points in the narrative are, however, worth our consideration.

Firstly, although a list of seven stops from Uruvilvā to Vārāṇasī is given in the text,[613] yet it was only at two places that the Buddha was reportedly welcomed by human beings. At all other stops, this or that supernatural being plays the part of his privileged host and still all the more important, the Teacher of gods and men does not endeavour to enlighten them. He may have blessed them, as was done in the case of Trapuṣa and Bhallika, but no mention is made in the texts of his expounding the Law in their presence. Theological justification of later times would manipulate the phenomenon to establish that Kauṇḍinya, the head of the five ascetics of the good group (*bhadra-vargiya*) had thoroughly qualified himself through exertions of previous births to be the first one to realize the dharma.[614]

Secondly, despite the fact that the Buddha did not expound the Doctrine in a formal way, we find in the account some indications as to what the outlook of the Master's future movement would be. He is said to have met on the way to Kāśī two persons, a brahmin and a Jain, representing the two main streams of thought of the time. A certain brahmin[615] happened to meet the Buddha at the place Vasala, and from what the texts record of him we can learn that his attitude towards the Buddha was not quite courteous,[616] and the latter utters a *gāthā* implying that his arrogance and discourtesy were not to carry him to eminence. The Pali tradition is perhaps nearer to the genuine memory of what actually happened, as it maintains that the brahmin Huhuṃka, who was known to the Buddha from the days of his austerities, came to him at the Ajapāla banyan tree, and after the usual greetings (*sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ*), enquired of h m as to his views about the true

Brāhmaṇa.[617] The Buddha declared that a person who is devoid of sin, is self-restrained and has destroyed the fetters that bind oneself to *saṃsāra* is to be called a real Brāhmaṇa.[618] In a longer conversation with Upaka, the Jain follower (*ājivaka*) whom he met at Cundadvīlā on the way to Vārāṇasī from Uruvilvā,[619] the Buddha calls himself a Jina and an Arahant,[620] the two words being very significant terms in Jainism. Now the Buddha will soon present new interpretations of these terms of high religious importance, *i.e. brāhmaṇa*, *jina*, and *arahant*, and the new religious movement launched by him will soon challenge the prerogatives and nomenclature of the two great rival systems of his time, namely, Brahmanism and Jainism.

It has been suggested that the Buddha's teaching met with no success till he reached Vārāṇasī where he found the five old companions. Ārāḍa and Udraka are reported to have been dead by the time the Buddha started preaching, opines Oldenberg, because the ancient tradition knew that they were not available for conversion to Buddhism.[621] Some scholars have seen in the dialogue between the Buddha and Upaka, too, a failure for the former, as the questioner was not instantaneously converted to be a follower of the Tathāgata.[622] This is hardly justifiable on the strength of canonical accounts. The Master did not attempt to 'convert' Upaka, except that he answered a few questions of the latter, which can usually be expected to figure in such a conversation between two religious wayfarers.

But the tradition itself seems to be conscious of the somewhat susceptible character of the story that is recorded with regard to the First Sermon. From the ancient authorities we learn that a number of people happened to meet the Buddha between his Enlightenment and the First Sermon. Two merchants came to offer him the first meal, and Huhuṃka is recognized in the Pali tradition to be the first man to speak to the Buddha after his Enlightenment. Why was none of these men entitled to a discourse from the lips of the Buddha? The Canon places the *gāthā* uttered by the Buddha in reply to Huhuṃka's query under the classification of Udāna,[623] an expression which may not necessarily be expected to attract a hearer. Buddhaghoṣa explains the phenomenon that these individuals could not realize the *dharma* as a natural and normal state of affairs (*dhammatā*)[624] and the evident discrepancy regarding the period of

seven weeks gives weight to the inference that either the Elders had no idea as to what actually happened during this period, or they did not want to preserve the memoir for the coming generations. It was probably for this reason that the tradition detained the Buddha for seven weeks at the locality of Enlightenment.

The Buddha's journey on foot ended in Vārāṇasī, where he arrived after crossing the river Gaṅgā. The Northern tradition records an interesting interlude as having taken place at the ferry whence the Master wanted to cross the river. On his request to be taken across, the boatman asked for his fare. As the Teacher of the world could not afford to pay, there was no other way for him than to perform a miracle. The Buddha crossed the river, according to the accounts, by his own strength, like a king of swans.[625] Supernatural powers are so closely connected with the Master's life that their proportional relation with reality was never called in question in the latest biographical works representing the Buddhist orthodoxy. As for this particular incident, should it be supposed that someone paid the Buddha's fare at the ferry, it is still obscure why the narrators did not want to admit the fact, as done in many other instances.

It was towards the evening that he arrived at Vārāṇasī. Since it was no time for begging alms or visiting Ṛṣipatana, the Buddha took rest at Śaṃkhamedhī.[626] Whether it was due to some important reason that the Buddha wanted to spend the night in the city, we cannot ascertain. The exponents of dogmatic aspects of the Buddha's life would explain it as being in conformity with the way of the Buddha,[627] The LV., calls his journey to Vārāṇasī as a *janapada-cārikā*,[628] a term generally not employed to denote travel to a specific place. The Buddha told Upaka, as we have seen, that he was proceeding to Vārāṇasī, but he did not mention there to whom he was going to preach. The orthodox view is that he saw with his divine eye that the five ascetics were living at Ṛṣivadana.[629]

The Buddha had no illusion about a warm welcome, as it was in disgust that the group of five had left him earlier. No divine being had taken notice of the importance of bringing them the good news of the Master's Enlightenment, nor could they make them have a wonderful dream the previous night. So we have no right to blame the five ascetics, rough and rigid

as they were, for the impolite manner in which they received into their undisturbed cloisters the supposed recluse 'who is a profligate, living in abundance, and has strayed from his strivings'.[630]

Their rude and unfriendly behaviour was not to last long, for the Buddha's compassionate feelings began to permeate and submerge their indifferent minds. As the Exalted One was approaching nearer and nearer they could not remain adamant in their decision not to welcome him and found themselves like caged birds that are being scorched by fire from beneath.[631] The tradition effectively elaborates how difficult a task it was for the Buddha to convince them of his Enlightenment and persuade them to hearken to the new *dharma*.

Our text, as well as the LV. and the AbhiS., indulges at this stage once again in imaginative prevarications. The Pali tradition records that once the formal greetings and hospitalities were over, the Buddha directly started preaching, and it was only after they had comprehended the *dharma* that they were ordained as the first Buddhist monks. According to our text, however, the five ascetics were initiated into the Order before lending their ears to the Great Teacher.

The five *śrāvakas* sat around the Buddha to lend ear to the revealing words of the Truth that had hitherto been unknown and unheard. The Buddha thereupon delivered his First Sermon, and the Wheel of Righteousness (*dharmacakra*) was set rolling. At the end of the discourse, Kauṇḍinya, the eldest and wisest among them attained the realization of the *dharma*, and the other four also became elated and applauded the words of the Exalted One.[632]

It was the twelfth day of the second fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July), the asterism Anurādhā being in the ascendant, when the Teacher of the gods and men set rolling the peerless wheel of the *dharma*.[633] Within the next few days all the five ascetics of the Fortunate Group attained to insight, "their hearts being rid of *āśravas* (impurities), grasping no more an existence."

Subsequent Conversions and Spread of the Message

We learn from the Scripture, including our own authority, how the number of adherents and disciples of the Buddha soon

increased. But the Mv. is not of much use in constructing an accurate chronology in this regard. The text, interrupted by *jātakas* and *sūtras*, had its own limitations which contributed to the confusion in recording the early conversions in their chronological order. From other sources we learn that the next convert was Yaśoda (Pali. Yasa). Our text places the conversion of Yaśoda at a much later period, that is after narrating the stories of Pūrṇa, Nālaka, Sabhika and some others. At any rate, he seems to be the first convert direct from the household life, and as renunciation was never regarded an easy task that would attract everybody's mind, narrators are inclined to make his conversion a legend.[634]

Accounts of the following conversions too, represent a different tradition. An authoritative record of the successive events is not likely to be traced among these narratives. The accounts are more or less unanimous as to the point that some friends, first four and then another fifty,[635] of Yaśoda followed him and became Arhants, the number of great saints in the world thus amounting to sixty, whereafter started the missionary works of the newly founded Order. The Mv. records the conversions of Pūrṇa, the son of Maitrāyaṇī, Sabhika, the son of a religious couple, and Nālaka the nephew of Asita. The stories are uniform in the sense that all of them had already adopted the ascetic life in advance to await the Buddha's advent.

Our text also embodies the famous story of the thirty companions who joined the Order in a dramatic way. That a group of thirty young men became converted to the Buddhist faith and were admitted to the Community at an early stage of the Buddha's mission seems historical, though scant conformity is to be found among the varying accounts of the episode. According to the story generally acknowledged by all schools,[636] the Buddha met this bevy of thirty friends on his way to Uruvilvā, where the three Kāśyapa brothers were practising the Brahmanic ritual system of fire worship. These young men, who were on an excursion to the woods, had brought along a lady of pleasure, for their only unmarried friend. Getting the awaited opportunity of their remissness, the unscrupulous courtesan disappeared with their valuables. The thirty friends, running hither and thither to locate her, eventually approached the Buddha, who was relaxing at the foot of a tree by the roadside. They enquired

of the Omniscient One if he had seen the fugitive woman, and the Buddha delivered an effective, though succinct, discourse to lead them to immediate insight and subsequent abandonment of their jovial life. The tradition leaves us in darkness regarding what became of their twenty-nine wives.

The Mv. speaks of three groups of thirty, two of them evidently corresponding to the Pali version of the thirty friends. Following the Mv. version, the friends, apparently all bachelors, had brought the concubine for their common enjoyment. Her name is given as Upārdha-kāśī, a renowned beauty of the time.[637] As she was less artful than her counterpart in other authorities, no robbery occurs to lead the lascivious youths to the Buddha. Supernatural intervention is therefore forced into the story. A divine being, disguised as the favourite courtesan of the thirty friends, came to conduct them to Holy Ṛṣivadana where the Enlightened One was staying, always ready with convincing exhortations to indoctrinate whosoever that cared to come to him.

It sounds a bit unusual that a group of jubilant merrymakers, as much profane as youthful, should allow themselves to be so easily converted to a fold that demands the complete annihilation of love and lust. An explanation of the peculiar phenomenon, however, seems possibly found in the fact that it was not at all an idiosyncratic circumstance foreign to the youth of that epoch of spiritual renaissance to have been interested in finding a remedy for the inexorable miseries of life. This predominant trend, which contemporary literature ascertains to have existed, counts for the dynamic conversions of Yaśoda, his friends, these thirty virile youths, and Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, not to speak of many others.[638]

Our authority exemplifies this pervading mentality of the relevant age in the context of the story of Kolita and Upatiṣya. These two learned brahmin youths were no exception to the undercurrent of dissatisfaction with life, and even amidst the fun and frolic of a grand festival like *giriyagra-samāja*, they are thinking in the terms of impermanence.[639] This philosophical trend seems to have been permeating the whole society of North-Eastern India. Our text contains a lament which expresses the langour and melancholy of the contemporary society, of which Bimbisāra was a representative. He contem-

plates, with a dolorous feeling arising from deep down his heart, how time had separated his forefathers, who lived all in happiness, from the beautiful surroundings that they loved most. "So what, verily, is life but death", he wails, "a mere fleeting moment full of ills ?"[640]

Considering this psycho-religious aspect of the society at the time of the Buddha, one can easily recognize one of the principal factors for the success of the Buddha's mission. The background for a religious reform and rejuvenation had already been set up, and under the dynamic personality of the Buddha soon emerged the Buddhist Order to be a popular institution.

Pūrṇa came with his twenty-nine followers from the Himālayas, as did Sabhika, the famous religieux of the *parivrājaka* sect, after having wandered all over the sixteen Provinces of Jambudvīpa. Both of them became disciples of the Buddha, the former being enchanted by his sublime personality, and the latter, delighted with his surpassing wisdom. Nālaka is said to have come from Avanti; a fact indicative of how the Buddha's fame began to spread beyond the borders of his own home state and adjoining regions. These three leading figures in the early days of the Buddhist fraternity must have encouraged the Buddha to strive for a more consolidated and well-organised Order, as their joining the *saṃgha* was to assure that there were so many wise and capable ones who would, as the Buddha had observed under the Ajapāla banyan tree, understand the Teaching provided he preached and taught them.

All these conversions took place in Vārāṇasī where the Master happened to spend the first rainy season. It was at the end of the first Lent (*varṣāvāsa*) according to the Pali tradition, that he inaugurated the systematic propagation of the dharma, advising his disciples to go forth as missionaries, for the sake of the multitude and for the benefit of all living beings.[641] The Mv. makes no mention of the Lent. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that the entire group of monks was sent to different provinces from Ṛṣivadana, the centre of the original Buddhist mission. The text refers to the *bhikkhus* undertaking missionary tours from Vārāṇasī.[642]

The Buddha now proceeds to Uruvilvā where the three Kāśyapa brothers with one thousand anchorites were practising the Brahmanic sacrificial rites. The conversion of these *jaṭilas*

is peculiar in more than one respect. Up to this moment the faithful adherents themselves came to the teacher and were converted on their own accord to the 'practice of *brahmacarya*' under the Buddha. But now the Master was himself going to the hermitage of the Kāśyapas. Moreover, he had to wait long, though not without employing magical powers, to convince the heretic cenobites. The very outset of the campaign was, according to the Mv., miraculous, and enjoying their hospitality and staying at their own dwelling-place, he performed many a miracle to gain them to the new Teaching. At last they witness the unique miracle of taming the serpent and become converted. This eventuated the conversion of Upasena, who lived down the river with a company of two hundred and fifty. Now the Master had a company of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks, which was 'the first assembly of the monks of the Exalted One.'[643]

Visit to Rājagṛha and Kapilavastu

It is not a curious point in the Buddha's life that he visited a big city accompanying a large number of followers. It has been presumed that the Master took his vast company of disciples to the Magadhan capital because their maintenance would have become a problem for the limited resources of the little township of Uruvilvā.[644] The Kāśyapas, it is to be remembered, with their followers had been living around the locality for a long time during he whole period of which their sustenance was dependant on the villages near-by. There was no likelihood of being denied their respect and provisions even after embracing the teaching of the Śākyamuni, for the ascetics used to exercise much influence on the people around the region. The Buddha was, on the other hand, obliged to keep them with him as he could not direct them to independent missionary tours as they had to be given full instruction befitting a *bhikkhu*. And their association would certainly draw people's high regard towards the great teacher. Bimbisāra and his retinue became so wonder-struck to see them at the feet of the Buddha that they could not decide between Uruvilvā-kāśyapa and the Buddha who was the teacher and who the disciple.[645]

Bimbisāra had already heard of the Buddha, before he came to see the latter at Yaṣṭivana. The Master's mission was

rapidly becoming popular, and there seems likely to have been some circle of followers who heralded among the populace the Buddha's appearance and manifestation of the Law. We are told how Yaśoda learnt from a layman about the Exalted One,[646] and most probably Nālaka, Sabhika and Pūrṇa also had heard from such adherents about the Buddha's promulgation of the Law and Discipline. In the case of Bimbisāra, it was his own household priest that sang the Buddha's praise before him.[647] Although the text tells us that the royal tutor referred to the Buddha only as a means to dispel the king's distress, yet his utterance sounds more laudatory than adulatory.

The Mv. preserves the significant discourse the Buddha delivered in the presence of Bimbisāra and his entourage.[648] It is remarkable that the Buddha is not represented in the tradition as performing miracles to impress the monarch. The text is silent as regards the gift of Veluvana made by the king to the Buddha, although it refers to the dwelling place at Kalandakanivāpa of Veluvana.[649]

One of the most important sequels of the Buddha's visit to Rajagṛha was that three influential personalities, *i.e.* Mahākāśyapa, Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana joined the Order, the Community being considerably strengthened thereby. The accounts of the conversions of these three able young men bring to light an admirable characteristic of the Buddha, which reveals his approach to the *saṃgha* as its Leader. Mahā-kāśyapa, a staunch and stoic personality with a strong propensity towards the rigid observation of monastic rules in general and vows of purification (*dhutāṅga*) in particular, was given the place of pre-eminence among those who observe those vows. Within hours of their first meeting, the Buddha even gave his robe to Mahā-kāśyapa in exchange for the latter's more comfortable robe. He was to shoulder, as we know, the enormous responsibility of protecting the Doctrine by codifying the Teacher's words at the first Council. As for the two Great Disciples, they would prove that the Buddha's ability to recognize a man's calibre contributed largely to the rapid expansion of his mission.

The great success that the Buddha's movement met at its very outset was bound to result in untoward resentment among intolerant rival sects. The stories of mass conversions from other religious systems seem to have been not wholly fictitious, but

based on the reminiscences of a historical sway of change and reform brought about by the radical movement launched by the Buddha. Now these changes were not to go without causing heretic teachers to murmur and be disgruntled. Our authority ascribes to Sañjayin an impatient expression of rebuke to the Buddha. "Gautama the recluse has come to Rājagṛha", he said, "after taking away the followers of Sañjayin with him, whom will he take away now?"[650] The Pali tradition indicates that this was more than a desperate lamentation of a forsaken religious leader. Uruvilvā-kāśyapa's conversion brought about an irreparable loss to the Brahmanic system of that region, and then came the fatal blow to Sañjayin, as he was deprived of a considerable part of his company. Many others like Mahā-kāśyapa had joined the Buddha, and the Order had by that time an estimated number of eighteen hundred monks. Hence the recorded objection of society which could not be happy to witness the enormous popularity of the new movement.

It was now seven years since Siddhārtha Gautama had left home. After long and wearisome expectation of the prince's return to take up the Universal Rulership, Śuddhodana and his fellow-citizens had now been, as it were, prepared to accept the terms of compromise. They were of course among the first to come to know of the Master's great success in the spiritual realm and also of his "having set rolling the excellent wheel of *dharma*."[651] The Buddha was staying at Veluvana, the text records, when the Śākyans were becoming more and more eager to receive him in his own home town. They obtained the formal consent of Śuddhodana, and sent Chandaka and Kālodāyin as their representatives to the Buddha in order to conduct him to Kapilavastu. The legend insists that Śuddhodana, so enthusiastic to see his son, sent messengers with large retinues nine times, and all those expeditions having failed in their mission, he sent Kāludāyī the tenth time with a retinue of another one thousand young men.[652] The VinayaA. would have him already converted, so much so that he was really awaiting the Enlightenment of his son, and without waiting till people came to encourage him, he sent his ministers to escort the Buddha.[653]

Some textual references would, however, make it appear that both the Buddha and his father were not so keen to meet each

other as our annalists represent them. The Buddha is said to have been entirely free of thoughts about his native place, so much so that he "had not sat down with his face towards it even for as long as it takes a man to breathe in and out."[654] And we may be sure that he thus far never uttered a single word regarding his home and people to his fervent audience of monks and laymen. If the Southern School's claim that he turned a deaf ear nine times to his father's representatives is worth consideration, one cannot but wonder why the Buddha was so apathetic towards such a warm invitation.[655] Even when Kālodāyin and Chandaka met him at Veluvana, the Buddha is not recorded as having enquired of the old friends about his relatives and how things were going on in Kapilavastu. Far from being interested to show hasty enthusiasm in complying with their project, the Buddha ordained them; the first ones were from the Śākyan territory to enter the Order. And it was only the next Spring that the Śākyamuni condescended to bless the Śākyan kith and kin at the city of Kapilavastu. Śuddhodana was also in all probability not very happy that his son preferred the spiritual kingdom to the supposed Rulership of the world, and was not without reservations regarding inviting him back to his city. Our authority preserves a peculiar account of his reaction when he saw the following of his celebrated son for the first time. On the first day of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu, a group of monks were begging alms in the city, the text informs, and Śuddhodana, coming to know about their relationship with his royal son, became very annoyed.[656] The text would have us believe that the sole reason for his unhappiness was the unhealthy appearance of those monks who had joined the Order of late, and thus had not yet shaken off the adverse elements of their outward appearance inherited through the practices of early heretical systems. Nevertheless, they had now been under the supervision of the Buddha for a considerable time during which period he could have trained them. And the text itself admits that the Buddha had to send Udāyin on a special mission to change the king's heart and bring him to the right track.

The Buddha had to employ even miraculous powers to establish his authority over the Śākyans, old and young, who were very proud. King Bimbisāra did not require to witness any miraculous performance to bow at the wandering monk, but

the Śākyan pride would not allow the old nobles of Kapilavastu to salute the young recluse whom they knew so well from his childhood.[657] The Buddha performed a series of unprecedented miracles, which settled once for all the whole problem. Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī, who had become blind due to her excessive grief and weeping for the prince, was not less blessed by these miracles, as her eye-sight was restored on the occasion.[658]

Thus takes place the happy meeting of the father and the son (*etādṛśo āsi tadā samāgamo pituś ca putrasya ca harṣaṇiyaḥ*), after a separation of seven years. Śuddhodana expresses his admiration mingled with love and sorrow which the Buddha receives with immutable indifference. The poetical genius of our redactors knew the best way to record the pathetic moment of the sensational meeting. The captivating dialogue between the Buddha and Śuddhodana depicts their contrary ways of thinking, one worrying over the luxury and comfort in the royal palace, the other contended with the simple life in the woods and villages.[659] The text makes no mention of the-re-union of Yaśodharā and the Buddha, the account of which the Pali tradition preserves. Yaśodharā was allowed, as our compilers admit, to have entertained the Master, yet her image seems to be distorted, as the narrative shows her desperately trying to allure the Enlightened One with sweetmeats.[660]

It should be recalled that a pretty majority of the Buddha's disciples of early conversions belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. Śuddhodana calls attention to this important fact, and inspires the Śākyans to make necessary arrangements to meet the situation. Accordingly, five hundred Śākyan youths were selected to be sent to the Buddha.[661] It is notable that the tradition admits the fact that the majority of these young men renounced home life only under compulsion or obligation. On the other hand, the aftermaths of this mass renunciation do not seem to have led the Śākyan pride anywhere as the history of the Order and that of the Śākyans would tell us. The Buddha had no objection to the sincere loyalty of the Śākyans, but ironically enough, the very motive of their sending a following was adroitly foiled by the Buddha. It was at his first visit to Kapilavastu that the Buddha began to assail the Śākyan pride, and now that the same arrogance was on its way to creep into the Order itself, he would not hesitate to nip it in the bud. Hence, Upāli

the barber was ordained first so that all the Śākyan princes might be asked to bow at his feet. The text tells us how people rejoiced at the phenomenon of the Śākyans having overcome their pride and anger.[662]

This explains the Buddhist approach, at least in the monastic institution, concerning the caste system. We are told how the *bodhisattva*'s five dreams were interpreted as indicating the fact that the Order would receive members of all castes.[663] And the Buddhist literature is full of instances supporting this. Oldenberg attempts to show that the Order in fact had accepted some type of social distinction, the number of low-caste members of the *saṃgha* being very small. But E. J. Thomas points out that "there are many instances of low caste persons being admitted as monks."[664]

Accounts in the form of a continuous biography in the Mv. come to an end at this juncture. Some references to the Buddha's life and his travels can be seen here and there, but our text does not furnish any further chronological narrative of the Buddha's career which lasted for the next forty-four years or so. It seems to be a common feature shared by all forms of the tradition that compilers show scant interest in continuing the Master's biography, except for the lively accounts of his last days and the final Extinction (*parinirvāṇa*). The text refers to the Buddha's visit to the city of Vaiśālī, and makes mention of the Jetavana-vihāra at Śrāvastī where the Buddha spent a considerable part of his life.[665] An abrupt reference to the Buddha's passing away and the cremation finds place in the first volume of our text.[666]

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE MAHĀVASTU

In the Mv. we can visualize a perfect panorama of the pre-Buddhist and early Buddhist Indian society. Although the main concern of the compilers of our text was the story of Buddhism and its Founder, yet the text contains elements for a mosaic of the ancient Indian society which we find in the form of the references to the contemporary society. In the present Chapter we shall have a glimpse on some aspects of the ancient Indian society as depicted in the source of our study.

SECTION I

The Universe, Jambudvīpa, and Its Divisions

No universe can be conceived without referring to space and time. Space is known to the Mv. in two terms, namely, the sky (*ākāśa*) and the firmament (*antarīkṣa*). No bird can reach the end of this infinite space.[1] The peculiarity of the sky, the path of the wind (*ākāśa-vāyupatha*), is that it is without any support (*nirālamba*).[2] This unfathomable infinity is nothing substantial but mere voidness.[3] There are numerous world-systems, countless suns, moons and constellations lying over and through the space.[4] Intervals between these spheres are dark and unfathomable, and even the sun and the moon cannot illumine them.[5]

As space is endless, so is time, too.[6] That the dimensions of time absolutely depend on the sun and the moon, they accept in theory. It is due to the effect of the sun and the moon that stars and paths of constellations became known. They divide time as night and day, months and fortnights, as well as seasons and years.[7] The ultimate point of this division is termed as the aeon (kalpa). Innumerable and immeasurable are these aeons.[8] They fall, however, into three categories, *i.e. saṃvarta* (dissolving), *vivarta* (evolving), and *saṃvartavivarta* (both dissolving and evolving),[9] signifying the nature of the universe

pertaining to that particular aeon. The world dissolves itself at the end of a saṃvarta-kalpa, and with the commencement of the next aeon, which is of evolving character, it begins to re-evolve (*vivarta*).

We thus obtain from the Mv. a clear picture of an endless (*ananta*) space and an incalculable (*asaṃkhya*) length of time, with neither beginning nor termination. And likewise, the world-systems lying beyond infinity are also infinite. The formal expression referring to the 'three thousand world-systems'[10] indicates the number of worlds they believed every world-system to contain, and the infiniteness of these world-systems taken into account, there can be no calculation of them, as innumerable as the sand of the river Gaṅgā.[11] These world-systems are sometimes carried away by the disintegrating winds of the world's end.

A world-system is denoted by the term *cakra-vāla*. There are two great mountains known to them by the names *cakravāla* and *mahā-cakravāla*.[12] All these world-systems possibly have a large variety of living beings, including men, as well as many other classes of non-human beings.[13] The. Mt. Sumeru, also called Meru, Mahā-meru, Sineru and Śailarājā, is deeply rooted in the middle of the great sea.[14] As in the Pali and Jaina traditions, the heaven is said to be on the summit of Mt. Meru, the highest mountain in the world.[15] On the occasion of miraculous manifestations all these world-systems tremble and quake in a smooth and soft way.[16] Whereas *lokadhātu* denotes a whole world-system, mere *loka* signifies the planet earth. The usual appellation for the earth is pṛthivī, but many other names such as *medinī*, *vasumatī*, *vasudhā*, *vasundharā* and *dharaṇī* are also found in vogue. Many treasures are hidden in the earth.[17] Mt. Meru forms the centre of the earth on which there are four great Continents (*mahādvīpa*). The earth, metaphorically taken as a woman, has the sea as her garments.[18]

The names of these four Great Continents, well-known to the ancient Buddhist tradition, are found recurring in a number of passages.[19] They occupy the four quarters of the earth, *i.e.* Jambudvīpa to the south of Sumeru, Pūrvavideha to the east, Apara-godānīya to the west, and Uttara-kuru towards the north. All these Great Continents are inhabited by men,[20] whereas the great variety of living beings therein are thought

to outnumber the aggregate of the whole of the world-systems.[21]

The text does not furnish us with much information about the Great Continents except for Jambudvīpa, *i.e.* India. An implicit notion that Uttarakuru is inferior to Jambudvīpa is to be found in the context that describes the places where the bodhisattvas are not born.[22] All the same, it may be presumed that this Great Continent is not less prosperous. The best quality of the *śāli* grains without husk, fragrant, and grown without cultivation, finds mention in the Buddhist works as being available in Uttarakuru.[23] A great recluse from Uttarakuru is said to have visited Jambudvīpa.[24] A Universal King enjoys the entire earth comprising the four Great Continents as his domain, which would comprise four hundred *koṭis* of islands.[25] Mountains and the sea form the borders of the earth.[26]

Mountains may probably mean the Himālayan ranges to the north of India. The famous group of seven mountains finds mention as Nimindhara, Yugandhara, īṣāṃdhara, Khadiraka, Aśvakarṇa, Vinataka and Sudarśana.[27] According to the Pali sources, they are the seven mountain ranges that surround the Suemru.[28]

As to the other natural boundary of the earth, *i.e.* the sea, they knew of four great oceans.[29] The western sea is believed to make people thirsty during the summer months.[30] The dimensions of the great ocean are also referred to, although in usual terms of infiniteness.[31] Many rivers flowing to the sea (*saripati*) and rains without number add to its immensity.[32] Water in the sea is one of the few things in the world which are countless and immeasurable.[33] They know the sea, full of waves and enriched with many jewels,[34] as the abode of many non-human beings.[35] It is called *lavaṇa-jala* or *lavaṇa-toya* because the taste of sea water is saline.[36] The colour of this water is described as dark blue.[37] The coastal parts of Jambudvīpa, uninhabited, are marked by growing forests.[38]

The Great Continent lying towards the south of Sumeru is called Jambudvīpa. The Mv. observes silence regarding the origin of this name, and probably does accept the story of the illustrious *jambu* tree which is vividly featured in Pali, Jaina, Puranic and Epic traditions.[39] This tree is situated, the tradition informs, on the bank of the river Jambu, which represents

the accumulated flow of the juice of rose-apples that grow on that *jambu* tree.[40] We find in our text the reference to a kind of gold, *jāmbūnada*,[41] probably obtained from the river Jambu.

Whatever the origin of the name may be, the idea of their vast land in the form of a geographical unit was by this time familiar to the Indian society. Their geographical horizon seems to have expanded from the Vedic *saptasindhu* to a larger and unique motherland or rather 'own-land' (*svakaṃ deśaṃ*) which was given the name Jambudvīpa. By the time of the Mv. period this land had become so dear to them that they enlisted the 'fair land of Jambudvīpa' along with their nearest and dearest relatives.[42] It would be a matter of lamentation for them to be separated from its lovely parks and lakes.[43] Jambudvīpa holds the indisputable distinction of being the noblest and topmost among the four Continents.[44] Their attachment to the land was no doubt enlivened to a great extent by the sentimental aspects connected with their religious beliefs.[45]

The shape of Jambudvīpa is described as resembling a bullock-cart with its face towards the south.[46] There are other analogies, *e.g.* a lotus,[47] employed to describe the topography of India, but the former is preferred by the Buddhist tradition. The comparison shows that the Indian society of this period was familiar with the rough outline of the country, which is narrowing towards the south as it can be seen even today. As for the borders of Jambudvīpa, they evidently knew, as it can be gleaned from the account of the *bodhisattva's* dreams,[48] that the Continent had the sea on the western, southern and eastern frontiers, while the invincible Himālayas formed its northern boundary.

The Himālayan ranges are always mentioned as standing to the north.[49] The natural beauty of the Himavān or Himavanta has always been an attraction for them.[50] Its snow-clad mountains, charming lakes, and fascinating varieties of flora and fauna deserved boundless admiration.

Mountain peaks in the Himālayas are of various colours, *i. e.* golden, silver, or multi-coloured, and are full of wonderful things (*āścarya-adbhutāṃ*), and attractive sounds.[51] The cold and frigid climate of the Himālayas sometimes made people sick.[52] Countless jungle-folk including birds, monkeys, elephants, and *kinnaras*, lions, tigers, bears as well as many non-human beings[53] have found their abode in the density of woods,

endowed with many thousands of flowering and fruit-bearing trees.[54] The beautiful lakes full of crystal-clear sweet water, enhanced the charm and glory of the mighty Himālayas. Some of them are, however, haunted by omnivorous demons and hungry serpents.[55] It was so difficult to ascend the Himālayas that it used to be called 'a path untrodden by men.[56]

Thousands of ridges and cliffs of the Himālayan ranges stretch over a great distance which seems to have covered the whole of the Himālayas from Kashmir to Assam.[57] The *Kinnarī-jātaka* presents a vivid picture of the grand natural beauty of Kailāśa, one of the most picturesque scenes, along with its semi-human dwellings.[58] The Mānasa lake is also located near this magnificent mountain.[59] Gandhamādana and Caṇḍagiri are two Himālayan mountains that find mention in the Mv.[60]

The wide-spread Himālayas were, as we learn from various sources, divided into two parts: Higher and Lower. Kapilavastu, which is described as lying towards the east, is situated on the Lower Himālayas.[61] Hermits and ascetics engaged in meditation and self-mortification,[62] crown princes and kings banished from their kingdoms,[63] and stoic youths renouncing worldly pleasures[64] found their asylum in the sylvan retreats in these remote mountain slopes. Sāhañjanī was one of such retreats of the time.[65] Not only pure and cold water, but also sweet and well-ripened fruits were easily available whereas some fortuitous meats would now and then add extra nourishment to their diet.[66] What seems more remarkable is that Vedic scholars used to select these untroubled slopes for holding their seminaries.[67] Sages possessing supernatural powers are seen flying through the air from the Himālayan ranges to the Vindhya hills via Kapilavastu.[68]

The Vindhya ranges which divided Jambudvīpa into two parts as Southern and Northern were situated in the neighbourhood of the Province of Avanti towards the south.[69] These mountain ranges, clad with dense forests, were also sought by sages and ascetics for dwellings.[70] The Vindhya hills must have been for them what the Himālayas had been to recluses in Northern India. That the Mv. does not reveal much about the Vindhyas may be indicating the fact that it had been less known and little explored till that time.

Rivers played an important *rôle* in the expansion of the Āryan culture in Jambudvīpa. The Gaṅgā (*bhāgirathi gaṅgā*) was indeed the most prominent one among them. Its origin is in the Himālayas, and final destination, the sea.[71] Flowing eastward, it fertilizes the land of Madhyadeśa, and enriches the *janapadas* of Kuru, Pañcāla, Kośala, Kāśī, Magadha and Vajji *en route*. The Yamunā also flows towards the east till it reaches Prayāga, where its confluence with the river Gaṅgā takes place.[72] The tract flanked by the two sister-rivers of Gaṅgā and Yamunā was renowned as the best region for Vedic sacrifices.[73] The Sindhu river, which is frequently referred to in the geographical descriptions in the Vedic literature finds no mention in our authority. The absence of this important river may be explained as due to the fact that the Buddhist background of the Mv. is mainly concerned with eastern Jambudvīpa.

Among the other rivers mentioned in the text are Narmadā, Godāvarī, Śatadru, Nairañjanā, Varaṇā in Vārāṇasī and Rohiṇī in the land of the Śākyas.[74] Anomā which flows through the Malla Province is also commemorated in the Mv. for its connection with the story of the Great Renunciation.[75]

Divisions of the Land

Jambudvīpa was the unique name for the land which comprised the whole of what is known as the sub-continent of India, except for the extreme southern and eastern parts of the modern Indian Republic. The striking importance of this name is that it furnished, in spite of diversities, a broad sense of unity and brotherhood among the different tribes and clans living in various parts of the 'Continent'. The peoples inhabiting different provinces which maintained their separate entity, had already started becoming united and assimilated into a single nation, though they still had to surmount the obstacles set by feelings of tribal and parochial distinctions.

We find in the Mv. four types of division of Jambudvīpa. These divisions are made on the basis of (i) cultural development, (ii) ethnic viewpoint, (iii) trade routes, and, (iv) political domination. This classification does not, at any rate, imply that these divisions had no significance of geographical character, for they depend mostly upon geographical factors.

The cultural development seems to have been the basis of the

widely known division of Madhya-deśa and Pratyantika.[76] This represents a definite demarcation of the land, although it was also not left intact during the long-lasting period of the expansion of civilization.

The borders and extent of Madhya-deśa are not discussed in our text, but we acquire from other Buddhist works[77] an outline of the Middle Country. A comparison of the Buddhist *madhya-deśa* with the Brahmanic Madhya-deśa would reveal that the Middle Country was extensively widened and broadened by the Buddhist School of Thought,—a phenomenon that has been appreciated as a great contribution by the Buddhist tradition to the Āryan culture.[78] The Middle Country included all the cultured parts which were at the same time the richest provinces of India.

The Pratyanta signifies those parts of Jambudvīpa which were not so developed in economic and cultural aspects as the Country. It seems, however, that these parts were also advancing towards the aurora of Āryan civilization through social, commercial and religious relations with Madhyadeśa. Buddhist missionaries, traders, and peripatetic scholars[79] would often select these backward provinces for their ambitious travels.

(*ii*) The ethnological division of Āryāvarta and Mleccha-janapada is definitely pre-Buddhist. This was a term to detect Āryan and non-Āryan settlements, a practical division which was in vogue even in early Vedic periods. Discrimination between Āryans and non-Āryans (*mleccha*) was accepted in both orthodox and heterodox traditions. This was due to the evident difference between the two peoples regarding colour, language, and religion.[80] Despite the fact that Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta are identical, the Buddhist tradition has always preferred the term Madhya-deśa to Āryāvarta. The Mv. refers to the division of so-called Āryāvarta and lands excluded from it only very rarely.[81] States excluded from the frontiers of Āryāvarta can be regarded as falling into the category of Mleccha-janapadas,[82] but due to lack of details about this division in the Mv. we are not in a position to learn much regarding this division.

(*iii*) The third division based on the trade routes is to be found sporadically mentioned in our text. This is also necessarily connected with Madhyadeśa, and the lands lying northward and southward of it which tradesmen visited in order to try their luck were called Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha respectively.

Pūrvadeśa and Aparānta which added to the famous 'Five Indes' of later periods[83] do not find mention in the Mv.

Takṣaśilā was the famous commercial and academic stronghold in Uttarāpatha. Cunningham suggests the original name 'Takṣaśira' on the basis of the Chinese rendering of *chu-sha-shi-lo* (severed head).[84] This renowned city functioned "just like an international trade centre and established commercial relations between India and the West".[85] The land route from Rājagṛha to Takṣaśilā which was used by caravanseries and cavalcades as well as traders and students is frequently mentioned throughout the Buddhist literature.[86]

Takṣaśilā as a city does not appear to have been secondary to any other city of Jambudvīpa. Its parks and pleasure gardens must have been a particular attraction for the wealthy merchants.[87] The Mv. does not tell us about its kings, regal palaces or battles that are essential parts of a monarchical State, but we are informed of its esteem and prosperity as an academic and commercial centre. That Takṣaśilā was leading in fine arts is substantiated by the *Śyāmājātaka*, in which a dramatic party from that city is seen visiting Vārāṇasī.[88]

The language of Uttarāpatha was conspicuous for its particular accent.[89] Brahmanic books claim that the language in Udīcya province is excellent, and the brahmins of that part are praiseworthy.[90]

The Southern Country (*dakṣiṇāpatha*)[91] was an inviting field for merchants from Madhyadeśa.[92] Kings in exile sometimes selected this region as their abode *incognito*. Skilful archers and ambitious scholars from that country reached Madhya-deśa in pursuance of wealth and reputation.[93] Our text refers to Govardhana city as belonging to Dakṣiṇāpatha.[94] References to Dakṣiṇāpatha are very few in the Mv., and we know that it is not at all mentioned in the first four Nikāyas.[95] "It cannot possibly mean the whole of modern Deccan", says Rhys Davids, "but the remote settlements or colony on the banks of the upper Godāvarī".[96]

(*iv*) The last division of sixteen Great Provinces (*mahājanapadas*) based on political domination is claimed to be the most popular and far-reaching one among these various divisions of Jambudvīpa.[97] The text enumerates the Great Provinces, sixteen in number, as Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Kāśī,

Kośala, Chedi, Vatsa, Matsya, Śūrasena, Kuru, Pañcāla, Śivi, Daśārṇa, Aśvaka, and Avanti.[98] Another list contains the names of fourteen *janapadas* only, omitting Śivi and Daśārṇa.[99] It is interesting to notice that the Mv. is the only Buddhist Sanskrit text that preserves the complete list of the sixteen *janapadas*.[100] The Pali tradition also presents a similar list of the sixteen Great Provinces, but it replaces Śivi and Daśārṇa by Gandhāra and Kamboja.[101]

This important division is also a transmission from the earlier times which cover the preceding century or two before the Buddha and, perhaps, the life time of the Buddha himself.[102] The list has not as a whole remained inflexible through centuries, and has been liable to fluctuations and revisions. We thus find in different annals the very same countries mentioned in different names.[103] The fact that there is no uniformity among the different lists does not, at any rate, put at stake the validity of the inference that the Jambudvīpa of that age had been divided into a certain number of geographical units. The list could not remain stable through centuries inasmuch as the political conditions that were responsible for the division were themselves not stable.

Names of these *janapadas* are, according to Rhys Davids, more tribal than geographical,[104] and all of these 'Sixteen Great Powers' or the 'Sixteen Great Nations'[105] do not seem to enjoy the state of full-fledged sovereignty. The *janapada* in ancient India would signify "both a state and a cultural unit, its culture counting more than its geography".[106] A *janapada* literally and originally meant according to Jayaswal "the seat of the nation, the nation being more important than the country".[107] In the form of a geographical entity the *janapada* is synonymous with the 'country' (*rāṣṭra* or *rājya*), and the people of a *janapada* are denoted by the term *janapada*.[108] But the terminology does not seem to have always been definite, for we find *rāṣṭra* and *janapada* sometimes signify two distinct political divisions.[109] On some other occasions *janapada* denotes but a capital city.[110] The text occasionally employs the term *viṣaya* as a synonym for the *janapada*.[111]

Most of these Great Provinces belong to the renowned land of Madhya-deśa the boundaries of which were thoroughly recast during the period under review. Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī,

Kośala, Vajji, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Matsya and Śūrasena *janapadas* are definitely included therein. Dr Malalasekara thinks that Avanti and Aśvaka were also included in the Middle Country,[112] but Bharat Singh Upadhyaya points out that Aśvaka and Avanti actually formed a part of Dakṣiṇā-patha.[113] Our text on the other hand would have us believe that all of these sixteen *janapadas* belonged to the Middle Country.[114]

The Mv. does not bring out any information about any king, capital or people of Chedi, Matsya, Śivi, and Daśārṇa, which were probably taken from an older list and growing more and more obsolescent. They had by this time lost their political importance as a prelude to their absorption into more powerful adjoining states.

Kings of Aṅga, Kāśī, Kuru, Pañcāla, Śūrasena and Aśvaka are not more than simple figures of by-gone days (*atitamaddha-naṃ*).[115] They had to share the destiny of the above-mentioned Provinces and were already absorbed, partly or wholly, by the dominant monarchies of neighbouring states, folllowing direct invasions or indirect diplomatic tactics. Most of them must have retained their names as tributaries to Magadha or Kośala kingdoms.

Our authority tells us very little about Aṅga *janapada*. At the time of the sixth century B.C. it was no longer an independent state, but had already been subjugated by its neighbour country, the ever-expanding kingdom of Magadha. In earlier times, Aṅga as a sovereign state had been on good terms with Magadha. The latter was once struck by a demonic plague which claimed thousands of lives. On this occasion the Aṅga king is seen helping the king of Magadha to fight the catastrophe.[116] But with changing winds Aṅga sometimes became hostile to Magadha, and invading the challenging neighbour, it conquered some parts of that kingdom.[117] But history seems to have repeated once again, and settled once for all the destiny of Aṅga, making it just a part of the kingdom of Magadha.

The people of Magadha are known by the collective name *māgadhaka*.[118] This is exactly in accordance with the general fact that the old Great Provinces derived their names from what originally used to be the names of the peoples inhabiting those provinces. Magadha was to play a very important *rôle* as a

rising empire. "Right down to the time of Aśoka", remarks Dr Malalasekara, "the history of northern India was practically the history of Magadha".[119]

From Vedic down to the Epic and Dharma-śāstra authorities, representing the Indian orthodoxy, Magadha is always excluded from the limits of Madhya-deśa (Āryāvarta)[120]. In contrast with this, Buddhist tradition is irrevocable to its location in the Middle Country proper.[121] The holiest spot (*pṛthivī-pradeśa*) in the whole Madhya-deśa, *i.e.* the locality of the Enlightenment, is situated in Magadha.

Rājagṛha must have been the powerful and wealthy metropolis of the day. It is spoken of as the 'noble city' (*purottamaṃ*) and the 'chief city' (*mahānagara*).[122] That the city of Rajagṛha was inhabited by a large number of people representing all strata of society is attested to by the list of the various sections, classes and castes of the subjects who assembled following the King's order.[123] It is often called 'Rājagṛha of Māgadhans'[124] but the older name of Girivraja is also not forgotten.[125] The five hills surrounding the city were so famous that it would never be missed in any description of Rājagṛha.[126] These five hills (*rājagṛheyakāni parvatāni*) were known to them as Pāṇḍava, Gṛdhrakūṭa, Vaibhāra (Vaihāya), Vaipulya and Ṛṣigiri (modern Udayagiri, Sonagiri, Baibhārāgiri, Vaipulyagiri, and Ratnagiri). It was in the Saptaparṇi cave on the left side of the Vaibhāra hill that the first Buddhist Council was held.[127]

That Udraka Rāmaputra, the distinguished religious teacher with seven hundred disciples had his seminary in Rajagṛha[128] throws some light on the religious attitude of the city. In Rājagṛha, never known as a stronghold of conservative adherents of the Brahmanic orthodoxy, shelter was sought by non-Brahmanic teachers who lived side by side with orthodox followers of Brahmanism. In older days it was frequented by Pratyekabuddhas for day-to-day requirements.[129] Mention is made of a college where five hundred brahmin students were engaged in Vedic studies.[130]

In Magadha there must have been many suburbs, townships and villages which were flourishing (*ṛddho*), rich (*sphīto*) and prosperous (*samṛddho*). Nālanda-grāma and Kolita-grāma were just two of such prosperous settlements.[131] Magadha was no doubt one of the most powerful and leading kingdoms of the period.[132]

Bimbisāra enjoyed an unrestricted friendship with the rulers of neighbouring countries, Vajji and Kośala. In the wake of the disastrous epidemic which broke out in Vaiśālī, he frankly encouraged the Buddha, who happened to be in Rājagṛha at that time, to visit the plague-stricken capital of the Vajjian Republic.[133] But as the position of kings themselves was unstable, so were these diplomatic relations, too, and from other sources we learn that Bimbisāra later became the sworn enemy of the Vajjis.[134]

Praskaṇḍaka, Balākalpa, Ujjaṅgala, and Jaṅgala are mentioned in the Mv. as localities adjacent to Senānī-grāma at Uruvilvā in Magadha.[135] The Province became the most sacred land of the Buddhists, as Gayā, the locality of the Enlightenment, belongs to this *janapada.*

Kāśī and Kośala were politically incorporated into one unique state, and at the time of the Mv. *kāśi-kośala* had become as much inseparable as *aṅga-magadha* and *kuru-pancāla.* Kāśī, just like Aṅga, is not found counted as a separate territory while referring to the contemporary Provinces of eastern Jambudvīpa.[136] But the glorious past of Kāśī was still fresh in people's minds that it is seen often mentioned as a separate state. Kāśī is one of the seven kingdoms mentioned in the Mahā-govindīya-sūtra.[137]

Vārāṇasī was the celebrated capital of Kāśī *janapada* in its political ascendancy. The city receives its name from the river Varuṇā (Varaṇā)[138] flowing to the north-east of the city, and the tiny brook to the south-west which is still known by the name Asi.[139] Kāśī or Kāśīpura should be regarded, according to Cunningham, as the earliest name of the city.[140] In the archaic days of *jātakas,* it had been ruled by many victorious kings who contributed to the fame and pride of the city. From Vārāṇasī sailed fearless traders to foreign lands from where they brought big fortunes.[141] As a trade centre the city attracted merchants from all over Jambudvīpa. The outstanding products of Kāśī included excellent silk cloths and sandal perfumes.[142]

In a remote time the political domination of Kāśī Province, perhaps, expanded upto Takṣaśilā.[143] Sixty thousand cities, according to another story, were under the sway of King Subandhu of Kāśī.[144] But on some other occasions Kampilla in the Pañcāla Province meant to the princes of Vārāṇasī a

foreign land (*para-rāṣṭra*).[145] It had all claims for being prosperous, majestic and superior; yet neighbouring kings were not prepared to regard it as indefiable or invincible. On the contrary, its wealthy condition did all the more attract those covetous kings, who would beseige the city whenever an opportunity presented itself.[146] And that Kāśī could not withstand these attacks is a fact of history, settled before the dawn of Buddhism. Pāṇinī also neglects Kāśī as an independent monarchy.[147] Veruḍiṅga, a village belonged to Kāśī Province in ancient times sopken of as now belonging to Kośala.[148]

Brahmanic influence was deep-rooted in this Province, and this counts for the bulk of encomiums showered on Kāśī in Brahmanic scriptures. Some kings were mere puppets in the hands of brahmins and usually bound to yield to their pressure.[149]

Vārāṇasī appears to have been a religio-cultural centre for a long time. Even after Kāśī was relegated to the humble state of a dependency of Kośala and greater cities such as Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī had emerged to defy and emulate Vārāṇasī, still the latter did never fail in retaining its predominance as a religious and cultural centre. The well-known six spiritual teachers of the Buddha's time had founded their headquarters in Vārāṇasī.[150] The Buddhist sources frequently allude to the point that Vārāṇasī was more resorted to by many Pratyeka-buddhas than any other city in Jambudvīpa.[151] Holy Ṛṣivadana where the Buddhas come to set the Wheel of Righteousness in motion is situated in Vārāṇasī.[152]

The river Gaṅgā was the most important landmark in the Province. The capital city of Vārāṇasī stood on the bank of this river. On the way from Gayā to Ṛṣivadana, the Buddha is seen crossing the Gaṅgā before entering the city.[153]

Peliyākṣa, Añjanaka, Kalabha, Ugrasena, and Kṛkī are some of the Kāśī kings that find mention in the Mv.[154]

As a geographical unit, Kośala holds a very important place in Buddhist literature. Not only was the Buddha's mission mostly conducted in the territory of Kośala, but also it was most successful in that Province. It is not therefore unusual that we can collect "much more information about this *janapada* than any other" from the Buddhist works.[155]

In pre-Buddhist times Kośala was hardly counted among the mighty kingdoms.[156] On the contrary, it was lagging behind

as a poor, small state with no abundance.[157] But much water had flown since then, and by the time of the sixth century B.C. it had established a wealthy monarchy, no longer negligible in contemporary India. The Śākyan territory at the foot of the Himālayas is also sometimes described as a dominion within the tribal expanse of the Kośala kingdom.[158] It is significant, however, that we meet a person, introduced in the same context as the Kāśī-Kośala king, distinct from the royal family of Sāketa.[159] Sāketa may have been the main city of the ancient Kośala, but in the long run it was Śrāvastī that qualified itself to become the capital (*mahā-nagara*) of the kingdom.[160] Jetavana, the permanent residence of the Buddha was situated in Śrāvastī, the royal city, whereas Nyagrodhārāma, the Buddha's residence in Kapilavastu, was according to our authority in Kośala-nagara.[161]

Licchavis as an independent people, Vaiśālī as their capital, and their republican mode of government are vividly painted and presented in the Mv.[162] But there is only one piece of internal evidence, that too but quite a casual one,[163] to validate the hypothesis that the Licchavis are to be identified with the Vajjis. Pali literature often regards these two words as synonymous,[164] but Pāṇinī and Kauṭilya speak of Vajjis and Licchavis as two distinct groups.[165] During the period under the present investigation, it is certain, the Licchavis formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy.[166]

Licchavis, Mallas and Śākyans were, according to ancient annals, blood-relatives. Licchavis, still remaining in the mother-family, occupied their ancestral city of Vaiśālī, whereas Mallas separated, as the Śākyans did in former days, from the original stock and built up their own independent republic. So we have in the Mv. Vajji-bhūmi, differentiated from Kośala and Magadha,[167] and in the same way, Malla-viṣaya separated from the Vajjian confederacy, but having distinct places in the conventional lists of sixteen *mahā-janapadas*. It should however be remembered that the tribal relations among the Licchavis, Mallas, and Śākyas were not forgotten under this development. The Licchavis were among those who were invited to the archery tournament of Siddhārtha,[168] and we know that the Buddha deliberately chose a spot within the domain of the Mallas for his passing away (*parinirvāṇa*).[169]

The Licchavis are remarkable for having the ideal republic

of the period. Their capital Vaiśālī was hallowed by several visits of the Buddha. The kingdom of the Licchavis,[170] evidently Vajji-janapada, extended up to the river Gaṅgā, which separated it from Magadha kingdom.[171]

Brahmins were not in all probability gaining ground in Vaiśālī. Even their proportion in the population of that liberal city cannot have been considerable or influential. This explains why Vajjians or Licchavis are not entitled to high-worded praises in the Brahmanic literature, wherein they are called Vrātyas who are indifferent towards Vedic Sacrifices and living on the fringe of Āryāvarta.[172] On the other hand, the Buddha lavishly admired them,[173] although the points of his admiration were rather socio-political than religious.

The Mv. scarcely refers to the Malla-janapada. This is mainly due to the fact that the subject-matter of the text is concerned mostly with the first part of the Buddha's career, which does not involve this Province. The *jātakas* of our text also seem to be unaware of the existence of Malla-janapada.[174] Anomiya-adhiṣṭhāna[175] signifies a settlement on the river Anomā.[176] A mango-grove bearing the name Anupiya, probably a variation of the same as Anomiya figures in the Pali tradition.[177]

Since many of the said Sixteen Great Provinces had, as rightly pointed out by scholars,[178] already lost their independence as well as individual distinctions, it is natural that some of those destined Provinces do not demand any special attention in the course of our text. Some sporadic references to these *janapadas* would, however, require us to have a glimpse of these Provinces also.

Vatsa-janapada with its capital, Kauśāmbī,[179] remained a sovereign state in the southern Madhya-deśa. King Udayana was the monarch of this *janapada* which was still safe from being engulfed by more redoubtable northern powers; a safety which was ensured by matrimonial relations with other royal families.[180] Udayana is considered in our text as having a pre-destined birth, dedicated to the cause of Buddhism.[181] But this short-tempered king, evidently had deviated from his supposed duty and showed little interest in the propagation of religion.

Avanti was the other *janapada* which was still surviving as a monarchy in the Middle Country. This southern state, which

is counted among the seven kingdoms of the ancient Jambudvīpa, is located in the region of the Vindhya ranges. In those days it was Māhiṣmatī that functioned as the chief city of Avantī,[182] but in the following centuries Ujjayinī became the more important city of the kingdom.[183] Pāṇini also speaks of Avantī as an independent *janapada* with Ujjayinī as its capital.[184] Pradyota, the king of Avanti, is named in Buddhist works as a contemporary of Bimbisāra, Prasenajit and Udayana.[185] One ancient king, Ujjhebhaka, is mentioned in our text as having ruled in the township (*nigama*) of Markaṭa in the Province of Avanti.[186] The Pali works refer to a certain Marakaṭa wood in the same kingdom.[187]

In Hastināpura was staged the touching love affair between the prince Sudhanu and the nymph (*kinnari*), poetically narrated in the *Kinnarī-jātaka*.[188] But the text does not name the *janapada*. Whenever the Mv. refers to Hastināpura, it has been taken for granted that the *janapada* is too well-known to be mentioned. From the incidental reference to Kuru-Pañcāla women in the same context,[189] however, it may be understood that Hastināpura is certainly connected with these two provinces. Pāṇinī had no doubt that Hastināpura was the capital of Kuru Province.[190] The greatness of this city is magnified by attributing to it sixty thousand cities,[191] too fabulous a number indeed. Its boisterous drum beating in the by-gone days of the glorious past were still reverberating in people's minds.[192] The Pali canon preserves some discourses delivered by the Buddha while he was journeying in the Province of Kuru,[193] which is supposed to be inhabited by righteous and wise men.[194] This established idea of righteousness prevailing among the Kuru people is made explicit in some reference found in our text also. Prince Sudhanu praises morality and non-violence,[195] whereas Aṣṭamaka, another king of Kuru,[196] shows his concern regarding the next world.[197] King Mahendra dedicated his life to wait upon a Buddha.[198] It is certainly this fame of the Kuru people that is reflected in the traditional belief that men of Uttara-kuru are virtuous by nature.[199]

The Province of Kuru is mentioned in ancient works along with Pañcāla, its adjoining state.[200] This latter *janapada* had its own capital, Kampilla.[201] Pañcāla kings possessed the title of 'Brahmadatta' in common with the Kāśī dynasty, and these

two royalties were inter-related by marriage,[202] a relationship that can be traced up to the clan's origin in Videha.[203]

It is unusual to notice that Kānyakubja is spoken of in the Mv. as a city belonging to Śūrasena-janapada.[204] From more reliable sources we know that Kānyakubja actually belonged to Pañcāla.[205] It would not have been an extraordinary case even if the city was for some time regarded as forming a part of Śūrasena, taking into account the ever-changing quality of the political map of Ancient Jambudvīpa, but so long as it is not consolidated by some other evidence the Mv. reference cannot be given much weight.

The Śūraseṇas, as their name itself indicates, were a heroic people whose war-like nature drew high regards from admirers.[206] Mathura, its capital,[207] lay on the way to Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Aśvaka or Aśmaka (Pali. Assaka) was a *janapada* of the Southern Trade Route (*dakṣiṇāpatha*), situated on the bank of Godāvarī.[208] Its existence as a kingdom was known to the earliest diplomatic mediator, Mahā-govinda, who skilfully divided the Continent among the seven royal heirs.[209] Mention of Aśvaka and its capital Potana is important in the sense that it marks the southern frontier of the then-known Jambudvīpa. Aśvaka appears to be the Southern limit of Pāṇini's horizon also.[210] The general assumption that people of this age were probably not familiar with regions beyond Aśvaka is corroborated by the Mv. as well as by the early Pali texts.

Although Videha and Kaliṅga do not figure in the conventional lists of *mahā-janapadas* in our text, yet their existence as separated Provinces is not neglected. The old list of the Mahā-govindīya-sūtra is particularly significant as it bears reference to Kaliṅga and Videha.[211] Mithilā in Videha and Dantapura in Kaliṅga had witnessed many dynastic vicissitudes and social upheavals. Mithilā at a time enjoyed the title of the *mahā-rājadhānī* (Great Capital), and its kings are usually praised for their charity and righteousness.[212] On the strength of the *jātakas*, Mithilā may be said to have been, once upon a time, a mighty kingdom to which is attributed the stock-number of sixty thousand cities.[213] Vijitārī, Arindama, and Candra are the royal figures we meet in the Mv. introduced as the kings who reigned over Videha.[214]

An obscure treasure called Paduma elevated the magnificence

of the city of Mithilā.[215] Yava-kacchaka, a village with a smiths' ward, lay half a *yojana* distant from Mithilā.[216] But the Pali JA. makes mention of Yava-majjhaka, the four townships (*nigama*) around the city.[217] Boundaries of Videha cannot exactly be defined as it formed a constituent of the Vajji confederacy.[218] On the other hand, the Province of Vajji proper, *i.e.* the republic of Licchavis is sometimes called 'Videha-viṣaya'.[219] From Pali sources we learn that Videha was separated from Magadha by the river Gaṅgā[220] which is described in our authority as the border between Magadha and the domain of Licchavis.[221]

Kaliṅga, associated with Utkala-adhiṣṭhāna,[222] is said to have been located in Uttarāpatha. What became known in later periods as Kaliṅga and Utkala are southern lands, and as such, the countries our text mentions by these names cannot apparently be identified with those well-known Provinces in the South. The text is irrevocable on the point that Kaliṅga with its chief cities of Dantapura and Siṃhapura as well as Utkala are northern lands. Valuable articles found in Siṃhapura were brought to the royal durbar of Hastināpura as a token of love and allegiance from a neighbouring state.[223] Cunningham points out, on the basis of the account of Hiuen Tsang, that Siṃhapura was situated adjacent to Takṣaśilā.[224] Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga is more than once referred to as a city in the neighbourhood of Hastināpura, a definitely northern city. Nārikela, the king of Kaliṅga, is associated with the contemporary king of Hastināpura.[225] The *stūpa* constructed in honour of the Buddha by Trapuṣa and Bhallika who hailed from Utkala was also in the Gandhāra kingdom of Uttarāpatha.[226] Thus it is possible, as Dr Law has pointed out, "that Utkala in Uttarāpatha....formed a part of the kingdom of Gandhāra".[227]

Kaliṅga was a monarchic state as we understand from the Mv. Kaliṅga kings are as noteworthy as the kings of any other kingdom.[228] But it is to be added that Kaliṅga kings are mostly represented as having adopted the path of cruelty and immorality, in contrast with the generosity and righteousness of the Videha kings.[229]

Kapilavastu, the Śākyan city, which was by no means to be left behind in geographical descriptions in our text, is given a prominent place. Situated at the foot of the mighty Himālayas,

Kapilavastu was known as Kapilā, Kapila-nagara, or Kapilapura.[230] This was reminiscent of Kapila, the sage who allowed the Śākyans to build their city in the vicinity of his hermitage.[231] The actual origin of the name is somewhat obscure. Watters pointed out that Kapilavastu is interpreted either as the 'tawny town' or as the 'town of Kapila'.[232] It is the story of Kapila that is usually adopted by the Buddhist tradition in order to explain the name,[233] and authorities have given other instances to show how ancient cities were connected with the names of celebrated sages.[234]

The royal avenue that led to the pleasure-gardens from the interior of the city was called 'Kapila-rājamārga'.[235] The Mv. like other Buddhist works presents a glorious picture of a wealthy and prosperous Kapilavastu,[236] which is more poetical than realistic.

The territory under the Śākyan administration was known by the name of Śākya-janapada or Śākya-rāṣṭra.[237] Śākyan *janapada* was an agricultural Land par excellence. Our text refers to its fields and agricultural environment, but as a self-governing political unit, the province was inhabited by people representing all strata of the social structure.[238] The Province was also the home-land of the Koliyas, the close relatives of the Śākyans.[239]

The Mv. does not refer to lands extending further towards the east or west, *e.g.* Vaṅga and Kāmarūpa or Aparānta and Sauvīra. The text mentions Vaṅga in the list of different alphabets as having a separate script.[240]

SECTION II

Administration and Social Structure

(A) *Polity*

As scholars have rightly pointed out,[241] the period under the present study claims two types of administration, *viz.*, monarchies and aristocratic republics. The Mv. also makes us acquainted with powerful royal clans in Magadha, Kośala, Avanti and Vatsa on the one hand, and on the other, a number of governments of republican form in the territories of the Vajjis, the Mallas, and the Śākyas, all belonging to the easter Madhyadeśa.

The monarchic system has been recognised as the earliest form of organized government in India.[242] As for the origin of kingship, the Indian tradition seems to explain it from two aspects, *i.e.* divine and elective. Brahmanic and Epic traditions maintain the divine origin of the kingship,[243] whereas the Buddhist tradition, though still legendary, tries to be more rationalistic, holding the view that the origin of kingship had no supernatural hand, but is human.[244] The impetus that brought sovereign rulership into being is, however, nonetheless different in both the accounts. Unruled and undisciplined multitudes could not choose to follow the path of morality, and as such, when affairs grew to the point that the well-being and the very survival of society were at stake,[245] they realised the urgent necessity of ruler. Thus they assembled, discussed together and elected a king (*rājā*). The king, elected unanimously (*mahāsammata*), was to rule and protect the people who, in their turn, would give one sixth of their income to him.[246] Protecting the people against immorality and insecurity is always emphasized in the scriptural representations of the Indian tradition.[247] The king is to reprove those who deserve reproof and commend those who are worthy of commendation.[248] To punish the wrongdoer and to reward the deserving one are regarded as the fundamental duties of the king.[249]

The king was no doubt the most important figure and the most indispensable element in the governing of the monarchic *janapada*. He is called by various names, *e.g. naravara*, *narādhipati*, *bhūmipāla*, and *rāṣṭrādhipati*. The prominent duty of a king is to give orders; to direct his subjects as he thinks proper.[250] This definition is closer to the original meaning of the term *rājā* which is related to the Latin word *rex* and many other words of Indo-European origin.[251] His orders, whether just or unjust, were carried out without questioning, as soon as his wish took the shape of an order.[252] Under the circumstances, there seem to have been few measures to curb his despotic tendencies. Once a king prohibited selling and purchasing in the capital,[253] and nobody questions the validity of this order.

Our text, like other works representing the Buddhist tradition, does not recognize anything concerning royalty that may imply the avowed acknowledgement of the concept of divinity personified in the King; a concept so explicitly elaborated in

Brahmanic authorities.[254] His privileges and prerogatives are, however, accepted with no serious objection. The king would shower boons and rewards on those who obey and please him; wrath and death on those who defy his supremacy or violate the code of discipline. A barber, whose skill surprised a king, for instance, was given a village,[255] and a merchant suspected of breaking into palace for burglary was condemned to death, without even proper investigations.[256] The text contains several other references wherein kings are seen either conferring villages as rewards, or imposing death penalty.[257]

The king had to follow the kingly duties (*rājadharma*) enjoined in the code of politics. These *rājadharmas*, as elucidated in the Mv., like in many other treatises,[258] indicate the fact that the Indian society of this period had in its possession a well-defined and well-regulated code of politics elucidating the duties, responsibilities and privileges of the body of administration. A study of these details would prove that they are a fine combination of regal obligations and moral principles with prudence, strategy, and personality.

The king has to be more laconic and less garrulous lest his secret plans be exposed. Unless he never forgot to be cautious, his adversaries might utilize this opportunity to turn the tables on him.[259] The text speaks of the king's fivefold power (*pañca-bala*), *i.e.* king himself, his son, relatives and friends, army, and prudence.[260] The vital point of instruction that is given much emphasis is that he must be righteous.[261] This repeated advice is however not meant to be an excuse for being exceptionally lenient or adopting connivance as the ideal. On the contrary, he must not hesitate to resort to the power of the sword whenever the situation demands, inasmuch as it is in dependence on the Wheel of Power that the Wheel of Righteousness rolls.[262] He is required to be discreet in granting boons and making promises, for once conceded it would be detrimental to his dignity to annul his grant or not to keep his promise even at the cost of the utter destruction of the country.[263]

In order to meet the frequent conflicts and troubles with neighbouring states, the political norm sanctions a round of diplomatic tactics. Secret agencies functioning underground in the inimical states and spies who would provide the king with the indispensable knowledge of what is happening in and

outside his kingdom are two such necessities. A spy is designated as 'an incomparable eye' in matters of defensive and offensive character.[264]

The son, one of the five powers of a king, was very helpful to the monarch in his routine work concerning the administration. A son was the most desirable object for the king as not only were all plans regarding the future of the country focused, but also the very survival of the dynasty itself depended on him. To have no issue of his own often drew the king to despair, and people were no less worried over the unhappy implications of the situation.[265] The necessity of a successor to the throne was strongly felt under the inevitable circumstance that a heirless kingdom is always subject to attacks from the adjoining states.[266] The impending threat ranking in his mind, the king would seek every possible help to have a son. He would call on reputable sages, no matter how far their place was,[267] or adopt even an indecent method.[268] Sacrifices and other rites are also said to have been performed zealously under such circumstances.[269] If all these attempts proved of no avail, the only possible alternative for the king was to find out a suitable prince consort for his daughter.[270] In that case a prince consort would be both son and son-in-law of the king.[271]

The life of a prince is full of comfort and luxury. Reaching the years of discretion, a prince would start his studies under proper guidance, and acquire mastery in all branches of training and education that are essential for his future career.[272] Not only this technical learning and training, but also his virtue and personality were counted as factors that qualified him for the throne. The crown prince should be "virtuous, powerful, sociable and beloved by the people".[273] All these requirements fulfilled, still a prince may have to face a serious embarrassment if nature had not been kind enough to him. He is unconditionally supposed to be a handsome person, and unluckily being otherwise, he would miss the chance of ever becoming the King.[274]

Having completed the training, he assumes his important *rôle* in politics as the Viceroy (*yuvarāja*).[275] He is appointed by his father, the king, for this executive post, and from that day onward he would take his seat in the royal assembly, in the company of other officials. However, it is always advisable for him to remain modest, unambitious and insignificant for security

reasons, lest he be subject to the king's jealousy and suspicion that would certainly put the latter on the offensive. When the son appears to claim popularity among courtiers and the populace, the king becomes so afraid that he would banish the son out of his kingdom.[276]

But on the other hand, it is seen that the king in his old age generally abdicated the throne in favour of the eldest son.[277] The old monarch, relieved from the burden of executive duties, would retire to the secluded life, in the upper chamber of the palace (*rājakāryato ohitabhāro rājakule upariprāsādavara-gato nivṛtto āsati*),[278] or adopt the religious vocation for the rest of his life in a hermitage.[279]

After the death of the ruling king, a new king was immediately appointed. It is no wonder that the people in a society where anarchy is so emphatically condemned[280] were unable to think in different terms. Here again, the nightmare of insecurity added to the natural fear of foreign domination was the impetus behind the enthusiasm of the countrymen to elect a new ruler. They were so afraid of a sudden attack from neighbouring states at this critical moment that their main concern was to provide temporary security measures against such a surprise.[281]

Accession to the throne had no specific law that may remain inviolable. Primogeniture on the male line was of course the highest merit, although it was by no means the singular and decisive qualification for claiming to be consecrated as the king. Sometimes it was the younger son of the ex-ruler that succeeded the throne.[282]

Ministers, who probably had a right to decide who should be the next King, were sometimes keen to test whether the prince was proper for the supreme post or not. Kuśa had to undergo such an extra test by ministers, even after he had already proved his ability and merits. The throne was meant for the most suitable heir; 'Survival of the Fittest' again. Mention is made of 'king-makers' (*rāja-kartā*),[283] a term that seems to denote an office well-known to that society. The Pali commentary to the Mahā-govinda-sutta explains the term as signifying the ministers who elect the new king.[284] According to later authorities, points out Dr. Jayaswal, they were "high functionaries or ministers."[285]

When the royal line becomes extinct, an election may be

conducted in order to appoint a new ruler who will be the founder of a new dynasty. The story of Dharmalabdha evinces that caste was not considered in such exceptional cases. The Pali tradition refers to a particular method called *phussa-ratha* ceremony adopted on such occasions.[286]

Our text does not give details of the ceremony of consecration (*abhiṣeka*), although some references indicate that the authors were aware of the performance of such a ceremony.[287] The text speaks of the royal insignia of the parasol, the throne and the crown. The MSV. reveals that they were included in the traditional paraphernalia employed on the occasion of coronation.[288] The asterism of Puṣya seems to have been regarded as propitious for the auspicious function.[289]

Kingship was not to be shared but was reserved only for one person at a time.[290] But the king had the privilege, if he so wished, to make one sheath capable of two swords, and thus in the Gaṅgapāla-jātaka we find the Kāśī king inviting his friend to share the throne with him.[291] Three brothers are said to have had a joint reign once in the kingdom of Siṃhapura.[292]

No room for a woman to be an aspirant for kingship.[293] On the contrary, stress has been laid that even among animals only males were eligible for being elected as King.[294] This was, however, a reflection of a pre-Buddhist anachronism which is usually to be found only in *jātakas*.

People's share in the matters of administration was an accepted fact. The relation between a king and his subjects is equated with that between a father and his sons.[295] A despot had no assurance of a long undisturbed reign and he, once become unpopular among the subjects, shall have to bid farewell to this world.[296] Although it was generally accepted that the king was a *Zeus Agamamnon* — a human divinity[297] — rulers in general were obliged to listen to the *vox populi*. The tyrannical attitude of a king may not go without leading the masses into a state the repurcussions of which are bound to prove disastrous for the king. They effectively protested whenever the king's duties were found constantly neglected,[298] and in some cases they succeeded to the extent that the king was subsequently dethroned and banished.[299] But the prevailing concept that the prosperity and security in the state were dependent on the king's personality sometimes provided the counterbalance to

prevent them from being adamant in their rebellious stand. If the king was righteous and benevolent, the country would in their belief prosper and flourish. Rain will fall in time, crops will grow properly, and there will be no theft.[300] the very basic sin that necessitated a sovereign for the first time in the 'history'. All catastrophes would befall the country due to the absence of a virtuous king.[301] Their political philosophy being such, they would finally give way to the temptation of human divinity and call back the exiled king.[302]

Kings are invariably seen leading a luxurious life, more epicurian than abstemious; more despotic than democratic; and more often than not unrighteous and licentious. To approach them was not so easy for the multitude and they were "as much inacessible as a fire or an elephant; a terrible lion or a ferocious tiger".[303] This remark is all the more authentic as it is made by Udāyī, who closely knew the interior condition in the palace.

The king had everything in the kingdom at his disposal, in addition to the resplendent wealth accumulated in the royal palace (*rājakula*) with spacious courtyards, long corridors and sumptuous halls. The royal palace was no doubt matchless in comfort and magnificence, though it was not devoid of the treacherous intrigues of ministers and princes, the wicked conspiracies and pretensions of the harem, and the romantic love-affairs of princesses.[304] But, unfortunately our picture remains incomplete in this respect because an authentic description of a palace with a touch of reality is lacking in the Mv.

The palace was surrounded by a high wall,[305] and comprising two main parts which are known as *abhyantara-rājakula* and *bahir-rājakula* (inner quarters and outer quarters).[306] Early in the morning the gates were opened and after the usual cleaning was done, water was sprinkled on the compound.[307] The royal mansion is compared to a heavenly abode,[308] and it comprised stables and elephant-stalls, thick walls and watch towers, upper chambers, fair windows, pinnacles, inner apartments and arched portals.[309] Pleasure-gardens surrounding the palace were beautified by lotus ponds full of blooms.[310] Groves of fruit-bearing trees lay beyond the premises. A rich variety of birds including peacocks, parrots, and cuckoos added their charming voice to the melodious music in the palace.[311]

Dancing and singing doubled the merriment in the harem which was full of lovely women.[312]

Inside the palace servants were many and ever ready for service. Hunchbacks (*kubjā*) were employed in making garlands, grinding face-powder and attending royal ladies.[313] Tribesmen (*kirāta*) and eunuchs (*varṣavara*) were also engaged in minor works.[314] Door-keepers are invariably seen in the palace. Carrying messages and ushering visitors to the king comprised two of main duties assigned to the *pratihāras*, otherwise called *saṃcāraka-dūtas*.[315] Before delivering a message, they were supposed to greet the king wishing him a long and peaceful reign.[316] Moreover, there were singers, famous for their poetical talent to praise the king. The more they could elate and enrapture the king, the greater the quality and quantity of gifts they received from him.[317] In the morning the king leaves the bed listening to the fine symphony of a variety of musical instruments, mingled with the paeans of these bards, and the greetings of high-rank executives.[318] But most of these panegyric expressions were not sincere evaluations, but illusory adulations uttered merely out of fear and compulsion.[319]

The assembly hall (*darśana-śālā*) must have been the most spectacular part of the palace. It was decorated in a charming way,[320] and on the occasions of formal audiences, the State Assembly represented by counsellors, the *purohita*, the commanders-in-chief, renowned magnates and royal retainers assembled in that hall.[321] They occupy their respective seats, and the king himself, arrayed in regal raiments and jewellery (*rājārhehi vastrehi ābharaṇehi ca*), sits on the great golden throne (*sarva-sauvarṇa-mahā-siṃhāsana*).[322] On such occasions the royal magnificence was enhanced by the presence of the insignia of royalty (*pañcakakuda*) whose five constituents were the white sunshade, the jewel, the sword, the crown and the fan.[323] There was a sunshade-bearer,[324] whose post was more dignified and important than its name suggests. According to Kuśa's high estimates, he seems to have had a share in the responsibility for the security and progress of the realm.[325]

Apart from the two main figures of the king and the crown prince, there were in the court those who held the key-posts of the administrative institution. The Mv. speaks of a sort of State Assembly (*pariṣā*) which appears to have resembled the

pariṣā of Aśokan inscriptions and *parṣat* of Kauṭilya.[326] With regard to the composition of this assembly and the constitutional position of its members we get from our text but a vague idea. The lists of high-rank officials, recurring in the text indicate that this council included the princes, the royal chaplain, the ministers, the army officers, *śreṣṭhis*, *naigamas*, *pauras*, *jānapadas*, and *grāmikas*.[327] Some other references indicate the existence of the famous eighteen *śreṇis*.[328]

Ministers were the helmsmen of the governmental functions. Not only the defence of the state, but also the protection and popularity of the king were to a great extent in their hands, and as such, the king is advised to be sagacious in selecting them and in maintaining relations with them.[329] Those who are courageous, brave, discreet, and fertile in expedients are to be appointed as ministers.[330] Their selection seems to have been at the king's discretion, but once they are in power, they could even influence, directly or indirectly, the king. It was ministers that predominated the Assembly,[331] and the king's orders were generally issued to them, who executed them accordingly, but not without modifications of their own when the situation so demanded. The king may be hasty and ill-considered, and it was the ministers' responsibility to avert the unhapphy consequences of his orders. For the welfare of both the state and the ruler, the ministers had to be prudent in their service and cautious in performing their duty.[332]

These ministers are called in the text *amātya*, *amātya-pāriṣadya*, *rājāmātya*, and *mahāmātya*.[333] The chief functionary among them who may in modern terms be called the prime minister, was known as *agrāmātya*,[334] But except preserving these names, the Mv. hardly throws any light on their constitutional position in office. The text once refers to an official designated as *hasti-mahāmātra*,[335] the executive entrusted with the elephants in the royal army. The same way, *rathapāla*[336] may be denoting the minister whose portfolio was concerning the chariots and charioteers. Ministers are described in general as having been expedient in diplomatic performances,[337] and sometimes we find them acting as the king's agents directed to perform the work of intelligence.[338]

Purohita, the royal adviser and domestic chaplain, ranked among the highest personalities in the court. To a certain

extent, it seems, he played an active *rôle* in matters of administration. He belonged to the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and was regarded as the preceptor of the king.[339] His estimable qualities, *e.g.* erudition and ability in handling problems, augmented his nobility. The *purohita* would advise the king in spiritual as well as secular matters. The fact that the sacrifices were performed by kings under the guidance and supervision of the *purohita* is evidenced in our text also. The impression we get from his image represented in the Mv. that he enjoyed a controlling influence over the royal family and the throne also corroborates the details about him found in the tradition.[340] In the case of matrimonial matters, it was his privilege to seek a suitable match for the royal candidate.[341] Throughout his life he would remain faithful and benevolent to the king and in this respect it was not exaggeration on the part of the king to regard him with fatherly love and to weep at his death.[342] Confronted with problems and difficulties, whatever their nature might be, the king sought the *purohita's* advice.[343] Generally speaking, he may be given the credit of helping and guiding the king in the best way permitted by his office. At the stormy moments of distress and grief of the king he had to employ his religious ability and *savoir faire* to console and assuage the former. Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, once began to develop a tendency of frustration, whereupon the *purohita* along with the ministers made an effort to calm the king's mind.[344]

The king is allowed to select a *purohita*. Usually a newly anointed king selected as his *purohita* either the one who was functioning as the chaplain of his predecessor, or his son who, in many cases, happened to be the companion and classmate of the new king. The office of the purohita seems to have been more or less hereditary.[345]

With respect to the other constituents of the administrative network, the Mv. throws but a little light. The text refers to Pauras, Naigamas and Jānapadas, who appear to have been representing a very important element in the body-politic of the period. It is now proved on the strength of epigraphic, numismatic and literary evidence that the ancient Indian polity knew of a certain body-official consisting of representatives of a variety of public interest. Jānapada, as Dr. Jayaswal has pointed out, equally denotes the members of a *janapada*

institution as well as 'the people of a *janapada*'.[346] The Mv. adopts these terms in their alternative meanings, *i.e.* either people in general or their representatives.[347] In the latter sense, these three words seem to have been adopted in the form of technical terms, denoting some particular groups of courtiers. In such contexts the *pauras*, *naigamas* and *jānapadas* are institutional compositions that embodied leading personalities representing their respective classes. It is remarkable that these terms always occur in the Mv. in plural, and the references to them are invariably associated with one or the other aspect of administration. Kṣāntivādin the sage, tortured by King Kalabha was approached by *naigamas* and *jānapadas* who pleaded with him not to devastate the country.[348] Another reference shows how a king, having adopted a prince as his son-in-law, introduces him as the new king to the audience of ministers, *naigamas* and *jānapadas*.[349] They were powerful enough to dethrone a king or elect a new king if necessary. *Paura* and *naigama* appear to be synonymous, whence it always occurs either as *paura-jānapada* or *naigama-jānapada*. One reference clearly shows that they were, as members of the royal durbar, supposed to come to the court every morning.[350] Kauṭilya also places meeting *paura-jānapadas* among the daily duties of a king.[351]

Rāja-bhaṭṭa signifies the royal police, whose duty comprised apprehending thieves and other similar responsibilities that are required to maintain law and order. Their way of treating the suspects was rough, as evidenced by the *Śyāmā-jātaka*, in which we find how policemen lick a merchant who was falsely suspected of burglary.[352]

Bhaṭa-balāgra, another notable term recurring in the lists of officials may be understood as the designation of the army-controllers who supervised the fourfold army (*caturaṅga-balakāya*). As the ministers assisted the king in civil administration, the army and its commanders-in-chief were to render their service to the king in his responsibility for defending the kingdom. Although the Mv. exhibits the traditional Buddhist aversion to war and warriors by holding that the warring kings and soldiers were doomed to go to hell.[353] yet the contemporary political philosophy was, as it always is, advanced only to the extent that might permit society to accept non-violence only as the ideal, not practice.

The army had four main divisions, namely, the infantry, the cavalry, the charioteers and the warriors on elephants.[354] Elephants must have been caught from forests in the Himālayan ranges,[355] and horses were brought from the north-western provinces.[356] Grooms and keepers were employed to look after these horses and elephants.[357] The capacity of each of the four divisions is said to have been sixty thousand.[358] Elephants were arrayed in trappings and housings of gold, whereas horses were adorned with girths of gold and bejewelled bits.[359] They were ridden by soldiers, armed with bows and arrows. The infantry had been provided with weapons like darts, spheres and swords.[360] From the legendary narrative of Māra's battle with the *bodhisattva*, we may conclude that the party on the offensive tried to shatter the morale of the other party by boasting and intimidations.[361]

Punishments

The judicial institution dealing with criminal elements, one of the most important aspects of administration, finds occasional mention in the Mv. The punishment for the breaker of law was harsh and ruthless. Suspects were caught by the royal police (*rājabhaṭa*) and brought before the king who acted as the supreme judge in the land.[362] There must have been a way of trial in keeping with judicial prospectus and the penal code, and the parties involved in the case were required to be given a fair and impartial chance of proving their innocence and sincerity.[363] Sometimes punishment was ordered without proper investigation or impartial trial.[364]

The picture presented in the Mv. regarding the punishments (*daṇḍa* or *vadha*) inflicted on culprits is horrible and lurid. Prisons ((*kārāgāra*) were dark and dirty dungeons, and the condemned men thrown into these cells "shall not see the moon and the sun",[365] the phrase denoting the miserable condition of the prisoners' life. Most probably the prison was encircled by a huge wall.[366] Manacles and other types of shackles are also mentioned.[367] The corporeal punishment that wrongdoers had to undergo may today sound too uncivilized and disgusting, but at that stage of the history of civilization such methods were regarded indispensable for maintaining morality and social order. Descriptions of the ways of torture found in

ancient Buddhist works recall the lurid picture of gruesome tortures in hells, imagination of which seems to have been based on what was witnessed in reality.

Mutilation was a very common punishment. The culprit was deprived of his eyes, ears, and nose.[368] The limbs of the victim were dismembered one by one, and then there were more painful tortures. Flesh and sinews were separated from the body, the tongue cut off and the flesh minced into small pieces resembling coins (*kārṣāpaṇa*) in size.[369] Sometimes the poor man was sentenced to be flogged, bound and scourged.[370]

The punishments imposed on thieves were extremely severe. This was in accordance with the general opinion that it is the king's responsibility to liquidate the menace of thieves.[371] They were often sentenced to capital punishment (*jyeṣṭha-daṇḍa*)[372] which was executed by primitive methods such as severing the head from the trunk or fixing on a stake. The man ordered to be killed at the public execution ground was taken to the spot in a procession. The two hands of the condemned man were tightly bound, and he was given some liquor to drink.[373] Sometimes the executioners were bribed and the doomed man was rescued by some interested party.[374] When the wanted person, especially a political figure, is not within the reach of law, the king would fix a price on the head of that person.[375]

Republican Governments

The other established system of government known to the society during this period was the aristocratic republic. From other sources we learn that such republics were in vogue from the remote age of Vedic period.[376] The Mv. refers to the republican governments by the term *gaṇa*, signifying a non-monarchical form of administration. Our text generally speaks of *gaṇa* rule only, leaving aside *pūga* and *saṅgha*, the smaller constitutional unit and the greater union of small republics. *Gaṇa* is according to Dr. Jayaswal, the technical name for a Republic.[377] Another definition of the term is given as 'the rule by many'.[378] The Mv. seems to have adopted the word in the general sense of Multitude, tribe or class,[379] the *gaṇa* administration denoting the antithesis of the monarch government headed by an individual.

It is a well-known fact that during the Buddha's time there had been some popular republics in the eastern part of Madhya-

deśa. The Mv. occasionally enlightens us regarding such governments in the lands of the Licchavis and the Śākyas. People under such republics must have been prosperous, liberal and self-sufficient, as gleaned from their depiction in Buddhist and Jaina texts.[380] People were happy since security of life and property was assured to them, and there was no fear of despots and dictators.

These governments do not appear, at any rate, to have enjoyed the status of full-fledged republics in the literal sense of the term, and hence they are often spoken of as 'oligarchies'[381] or 'small aristocratic governments'.[382] It is almost impossible to overlook the fact that the Licchavis, the avowed republicans of the day, and their more conventional relatives of Kapilavastu had not as yet been able to get rid of the supreme importance attached to the vocabulary of the monarchic system, as is proved by the phenomenon that they were still using the royal insignia of *pañca-kakuda* and calling themselves by the very term *rājā*. It may be remembered here that Kauṭilya speaks of two groups of republics, one group retaining the appellation of *rājā* while the other had no claim to it. The Mallas and the Licchavis belonged to the first group.[383] The inclination towards the monarchic form was more obvious in the Śākyan territory where only one person (Śuddhodana) is frequently called *rājā*, Śākyādhipati, and *mahārājā*.[384] Regarding the Licchavis it is said that each one of the community was claiming himself to be a *rājā*.[385] It may have been the same case with the Śākyans, too, though it is not clearly expressed, taking into account the fact that the Śākyans are sometimes seen calling Śuddhodana in terms of equality.[386] Their adherence to the word *rājā* may be assigned to the fact that they all belonged to the Kṣatriya caste, another word for which was *rājanya*.[387]

The most remarkable characteristic of the republican government was its unity, which was the basis of its very existence.[388] Dictatorship was out of the question as all were thinking in terms of equality, within the rank of the privileged class, of course, for the general population under these republics comprised both low and high classes. Any decision concerning matters of public interest was to be made only after having discussed the issue in all aspects, and such discussions were attended by all leading members.[389] Thus we find Tomara, the Licchavi

representative sent for the Buddha, waiting for the decision of the *gaṇa* on the condition laid by Bimbisāra, without daring to give a final word on behalf of the *gaṇa*.[390] Such issues were discussed in the mote-halls (*santhāgāra*) where they used to hold regular meetings. The Mv. refers to the mote-hall of the Śākyas, where the members of the governmental body assembled to discuss and review matters and speculate on diverse opinions.[391]

Śuddhodana was addressed by the title of *kulavaṃśa-mukhya*,[392] signifying the republican mode of his government, though sometimes he is presented as exercising the authority of a monarch.[393] It is surmised that the procedure of these assemblies had a resemblance to that of the Buddhist Assembly of the *saṃgha*.[394] In case of a dispute, the settlement was sought through casting votes; a practice that our text describes as a time-honoured custom among the Śākyans.[395] The Tibetan sources inform us how the Śākyans resorted to the voting method even at the critical moment of the seige of Kapilavastu by the Kośalan king, in order to arrive at a decision as to whether they should fight or surrender.[396]

In the mote-hall of Kapilavastu, five hundred Śākyans sat when a general session of the Assembly was held.[397] This seems to be the conventional number of the representatives of the Śākyans' republic, just as the Licchavis' assembly is supposed to have consisted of seven thousand seven hundred and seven members.[398] Five hundred Śākyan heads are said to have sent greetings on the birth of the *bodhisattva*, and again it was five hundred Śākyans that came to dissuade Siddhārtha from renouncing the world.[399] Five hundred young princes, one from each leading family, were selected to be sent to the Buddha in order to provide him a proper retinue.[400] Among those headmen, too, there were distinguished members who were known as *mahat-tarakas*.[401] Tomara was a reputable figure hailing from this class in Vaiśālī, and in Kapilavastu *mahattarakas* formed the *élite* which was supposed to be respected by others.[402]

It is interesting to note that the Licchavis knew how to carry out a common project through the co-operative system, which they adopted to feed the Buddha and his disciplesin Vaiśālī.[403]

(B) *Social Structure*

The society of this period seems to have been passing through a stage of transition, and is significant as the link between the simple unsophisticated society of Vedic age and the complex social institution that came into being in the post-Buddhist periods. The solid conglomeration of different peoples, cultural, political and ethnological units, in the form of the compact entity of society is termed in our text as *loka, prajā, janatā, janakāya, mahājana* or *mahā-janakāya.* The society for them was the happy composite of many groups, who, representing diverse social strata, amalgamated into a wholesome unit wherein they would forget to a certain extent their individual distinctions and differences. If this society came to have more and more members it was considered to be fortunate for the country,[404] for there was no question of over-population and its allied problems.

The Mv. adopts the vocabulary of the caste institution, *e.g., varṇa jāti, gotra* and *kula. Varṇa* signifies what is generally understood by the English word 'caste'. The term *kula* was sometimes used as synonymous with *varṇa* and at other times it retained its original sense of family. *Gotra* stands for agnate, a sub-division of caste, whereas *jāti* conveys the tribal sense denoting the birth.[405] That the society delineated in Mv. knew these divisions is certain, but it was as yet far from becoming over-burdened with the rigid regulations of caste institution that became the landmark of the later Indian society.

The society of this age was, as is well-known from other sources, divided into four castes (*varṇa*), *i.e.,* Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras,[406] whereas Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas represented outcastes. The text being a Buddhist work, nobles (*kṣatriyas*) are regarded to be the highest caste, as is seen in the Buddhist tradition.[407] No competition between the two highest castes for supremacy can be detected in the Mv. The general view regarding the caste system was that the Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa castes were high.[408] Vaiśyas were also not without a high social rank, and they are often found associated with the two higher castes. References to the fourth caste, *i.e.* Śūdras are quite rare.[409]

The opinion that these social divisions were originally based on the individual's personal merits or demerits such as comple-

xion, vocation or demeanour,[410] seems to be substantiated in the light of the Mv. also. One's caste could be guessed by his appearance.[411] But there was no assurance that high-borns are always fair in complexion and graceful in appearance. Asita the brahmin sage was of dark complexion, and Kuśa, a high-caste prince had a lot of trouble on account of his repulsive appearance.[412] The legend relating the origin of the world explains how a darker complexion was despised and treated as inferior by those who retained their original colour. The Buddhist protest against the colour discrimination is, however, echoed in the statement that their superfluous pride led the world into a more unfortunate condition.[413]

It is somewhat confusing to remark that the Mv., like all other treatises representing the ancient Buddhist tradition, speaks in the terms of caste distinctions, in evident contrast with the Buddhist theory that all human beings are equal by birth. It is quite certain that the society reflected in the Mv. is not exclusively Buddhist, but it may not sound reasonable that the text acknowledges and complies with the social discrimination between the high (*ucca*) and the low (*nica*). Whatever the outlook of our compilers may have been, the text displays its recognition of low and high castes and maintain that people belonging to high-castes are privileged ones who enjoy the good result of merit acquired by them in the previous life.[414] This may show the impact of the prevalent caste prejudices on the Buddhist preachers of later times, though one cannot wholeheartedly appreciate such explanations of social inequality.

The Śākyas, Licchavis, Mallas and many other small independent groups belonged to the Kṣatriya caste.[415] As the ruling class, they must have had the opportunity to make themselves the richest group in society. The Mv, definitely holds that they are the best and supreme caste.[416] in contradiction to the claim of late Brahmanic treatises. It was only at later periods, says Rhys Davids, that Brāhmaṇas endeavoured expressly to claim supremacy over the nobles.[417] Or it may be conjectured on the strength of the repeated statement that the Buddhas are born only in Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa castes that both these *varṇas* enjoyed a more or less equal status above the other two castes.

Although the Kṣatriyas were warriors par excellence, yet they were free to select any profession, honourable or otherwise, for

their livelihood. Many Śākyas were agriculturists.[418] King Kuśa is seen adopting many lowly vocations and yet not facing the threat of being reprehended or outcaste.[419]

The Brāhmaṇas held a strong, influential and secure position in society. Many brahmins were engaged in Vedic studies as well as in secular vocations. They were known by the honorific titles such as Snātaka, Śrotriya and Ṣaḍaṅga-vid.[420] After completing the traditional course of study in the traditional *gurukula*, the Brāhmaṇa youth could make a free choice as to which vocation he should take up. Some of them entered the house-hold life, whereas the others, finding the worldly enjoyments vain and ephemeral, renounced that mode of life, and adopted the ascetic life.[421] Education was mostly in their hands, and the spiritual influence they had on the masses yielded them big fortunes. Gold and silver, live-stocks and servants, and even villages were offered to them as remunerations or donations.[422] We hear about the existences of *brāhmaṇagrāmas*,[423] mainly in the Magadha and Kośala regions, which according to Rhys Davids, became known for the wealthy position of the brahmins in these particular settlements.[424]

Brāhmaṇas were easily recognized by their peculiar style of dress, customary of their caste.[425] They are sometimes appreciated for their august appearance,[426] but this can by no means be taken as a generalization for there were some brahmins who deserved no appreciation from the physical point of view.[427] From our text we get the impression that the brahmins of this age enjoyed a comfortable position as a wealthy community. Kāśyapa the Great declares that he had great wealth, comprising eighty cartloads of gold, one thousand servants, and many cattle as well as a large stock of agricultural equipment.[428] The text makes us acquainted with the *brāhmaṇa-mahāśāla*, families which are said to have been very rich, wealthy and opulent.[429] But we shall not be far from the truth if we suppose that their economic position was more or less dependent on the charity of society. Begging was also in vogue as a mode of livelihood prescribed for the brahmin, and sometimes they were granted regular sustenance (*vṛtti*) by the king in addition to the usual donations of wealth and riches or land-endowments.[430] The text once refers to a brahmin king.[431]

Brahmins were generally held in high esteem and shown due

respect. In the presence of distinguished brahmins the layman was supposed to stand up from his seat and salute the former. This was no doubt owing to the good character of those brahmins who were the masters of the three Vedas, and allied subjects, and were charitable, generous and lived in accordance with the path of morality.[432]

But all this presents only one side of the coin. The picture of the brahmins found in the Buddhist literature, as remarked by learned writers, is painted not only in bright colours but also in some darker colours. We cannot say that these details revealing the bad aspects of the Brāhmaṇas are not entirely free from religious prejudices and contempt for a rival group, but they must certainly be containing some truth. The brahmins are represented as greedy, avaricious and libertine. Mahā-govinda's own supporters and admirers thought to exploit this greediness, intrinsic in the psychology of brahmins, for their benefit,[433] and the story of Mālinī elaborates how a band of brahmins were enraged at the sight of other religious sects, notably Buddhist monks, being fed and respected,[434] evidently because it was their reserved quota that was being utilized for the arbitrary offerings. In the bloody sacrifices, which ancient kings used to perform with all pomp and show, they were largely benefited, and as such, they would gather in large numbers wherever there was a sacrifice.[435]

The brahmins also frequently deviated from their prescribed vocation, *i.e.* religious performances and study, in order to adopt other livelihoods.[436] They used to be diviners and astrologers, physiognomists and advisers in religious and secular affairs.[437] They were not less proud of their purity than the Kṣatriyas,[438] although a brahmin was "not very materially different from a member of any other class".[439] There must have been the feeling of low and high ranks within the Brāhmaṇa caste itself. The text refers to some gotras, but does not disclose any gradation or significance attributed to them.

Vaiśyas formed the next class of this society. As a distinct caste they enjoyed a dignified position in the public life, and were not deprived of their due social status as a non-dependent community. Many Vaiśyas, particularly their leading members who were known as *śreṣṭhis*, had become very rich by means of trade and commerce. *Śreṣṭhis* as a term denoting a leading

figure in social life and civil administration is the best representation of the Vaiśya caste which claimed all kinds of mercantile employments as the birthright of that caste. These *śreṣṭhis* (magnates, bankers or guild-presidents) were so rich that sometimes they ventured to emulate or compete with the kings.[440] Aristocratic leaders of this caste are often featured as having vast riches bestowed by luck,[441] that would become an object of jealousy even for kings.[442] In the Mv. society we frequently meet merchants and traders who support the cause of Buddhism materially as well as morally.[443] This fully confirms the observation regarding the merchant class "whose magnificent benefaction alone rendered possible the splendid efflorescence of Buddhist architecture and sculpture in India".[444] Taking into account their wealthy position and its rightful sources, one may say that whereas the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas had in their grip the political and spiritual powers respectively, the economic power was in the hands of the Vaiśyas; a fact that seems to be largely responsible for the status enjoyed by them as a respectable class.

Farmers and cultivators who constituted the majority of the populace come after merchants. It cannot be ascertained whether agriculture was attributed to any particular caste in this age or not. We are told of Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas taking to farming and cultivation, and they were commonly included in the class of ploughmen (*kṛṣaka*).[445] Cattle-rearing was also probably associated with this class.

Śūdras were the lowest caste, representing an extensive social compact of heterogeneous groups of people following low-standard livelihoods. Among them were barbers, potters, blacksmiths, fishers, musicians and many others. Snake-charmers (*āhituṇḍika*) were also probably included in this class.[446] They were not subject to utter contempt as was the case with outcastes, yet were always treated as worthless 'low-borns'. A potter is despised in the contemptuous tone as a low-caste (*hīna-jāti*) by his own Brāhmaṇa friend,[447] and Upāli the barber was reminded of his low-birth when he endeavoured to call Śuddhodana by name.[448] The potter, as some writers have opined,[449] enjoyed a notable ritual position in the caste institution. But there is little evidence in our text that the potter enjoyed a social status that can be described as honourable,

and one may understand from the story of Kāśyapa the Buddha and Ghaṭīkāra the potter that the former's friendship was regarded by the latter as an extremely uncommon favour vouchsafed to him.[450]

Whether these low caste people were disregarded because of the nature of their vocations or on anthropological grounds, it is not clear enough. Perhaps both these factors were equally responsible for their low status. A barber, for instance, is condemned on account of the fact that he earned his living by means of a razor (*kṣura-vṛtti*),[451] and Kuśa was disparagingly suspected by his mother-in-law to be a low-born merely because of his physical appearance.[452] Rhys Davids thought that the lowest class of this society comprised 'aboriginal tribesmen'.[453] We may understand, at any rate, that the fourth caste had served as a repository where a large number of persons who were not pure Āryans professing low arts and crafts could find a place within the pale of Indian orthodoxy. These backward people had little ambition for a better future in this very life, and were led to be satisfied with whatever they could accomplish without going beyond their limitations. One can find so many instances of members of high castes adopting low professions in days of hardship, but no elaboration of a low-caste craftsman shifting to a higher vocation is found. To aggravate their misery, there was the religious teaching that people are born to low castes in consequence of the sinful deeds done by them in previous lives. A man would shine and bloom as he avoids low castes.[454]

The last and lowest stratum of this social structure was formed by a group of wretched sections of menial servants who were treated as outcastes and untouchables. The Mv. mentions Veṇas, Pāṇas, Pukkusas and Caṇḍālas among these groups.[455] The miserable plight of the Caṇḍālas is touchingly presented in Pali *jātaka* stories,[456] but our text does not bring out much information about them. One of their despised occupations was to burn dead bodies.[457]

Life in Cities and Villages

The ancient Indian society seems to have been more rural than urban in character. People were, as scholars have observed,[458] mainly village folk, and there were only a few cities, though the

text speaks of a sixty thousand cities. Vārāṇasī, Takṣaśilā, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha were some of the famous cities. Life in these chief metropolitan cities must have been, as depicted in the Mv., satisfactory and self-complacent according to the standard of the time. A *cliché* recurring in the text describes an ideal city as 'thriving, prosperous, peaceful, having an abundance of food, thronged by a multitude of happy citizens, free from violence and riots, rid of thieves, and busy with commerce'.[459] The city had many attractions for the people in its lovely gardens, trees laden with fruits and flowers, blooming ponds, and magnificent mansions as well as in abundance of life.[460] We are led to imagine how a city was resonant with different sounds such as those of elephants, chariots, pedestrians, of a variety of musical instruments and jubilant callings.[461] Streets were not, however, in good condition,[462] as revealed by the statement that they required special arrangements for any important state reception or public celebration.[463] In the inner city (*anto-nagara*) life was still more happy and luxurious.

Rich citizens are said to have had three different mansions for three seasons.[464] This somewhat stereotyped statement may not represent very common phenomenon in the contemporary society, but it does at least reflect what they thought a luxurious life ought to be like. And it was not entirely impossible for a wealthy landowner to possess three separate houses.[465] Various kinds of ointments, costly garments, unguents and garlands, delicious and nutritious foods and numerous articles essential for a comfortable life find mention in the Mv.

Although the country had a number of townships (*nigama*) and cities (*rājadhānī*), villages outnumbered them. Life in rural parts of the country was definitely less comfortable and more uncertain. Among the outskirts excluded by the city wall there lay some poor villages that sheltered human drags for whom life meant but a continuous struggle. Countrymen (*jānapada*) are described, in contradiction to the more fortunate people in cities, as "feeding on barley meal, dressing in coarse cloths, and drawing a bare sustenance from their daily toil".[466] Poverty was not a rare condition, and for some villagers even the daily meal was a problem. Some poor fellows had to be satisfied with some coarse food like *kulmāṣa*,[467]

and sometimes it was very hard for a saint to obtain a handful of rice from a village.[468] In the *Kuśa-jātaka* we meet an old lady who optimistically calculates that a limited quantity of food including some eatables, gruel and curd would suffice for her for two or three months.[469] When the guest (Kuśa) consumes all that food, which may not in any case have been more than a meal of one man, the old woman was so dejected that she expresses her fear and frustration in a loud cry. The picture of a hut belonging to a poor old man painted with a touch of reality draws our attention as it vividly depicts a dilapidated hovel with no furniture except a rickety couch and a broken pitcher of water.[470]

Even in the Śākyan *janapada*, life was not devoid of hardships and the monotonous routine of perseverance. In order to earn their livelihood and lead a life of moderate prestige they had to devote themselves to hard work in agriculture and be bound with many social obligations.[471] We often hear remarks expressing the unhappiness of life aggravated by cold, heat and bad wind as well as gnats and flies, hunger and thirst.[472] The big gap between the rich and the poor was not negligible, but if they had any grievances against their unfortunate lot, it was only in the perspective of karmic theory, not of the social order. He had no analytical way of observation as to the origin, of, or reasons for class differences, and would attribute everything to the undefiable law of *karma*,[473] which his religious guide had taught him as the explanation of all forms of unequality.

(C) *Position of the Woman*

The woman's *rôle* in the society of this period was many-sided and as important as that of the man, since she held the unopposed place at home as the darling daughter, faithful wife and the beloved mother. The Mv. is silent with regard to her position as the daughter in the house. A girl's birth may not have been a matter of equal rejoicing and satisfaction compared to the birth of a son, but a daughter was not, as far as our text reveals, neglected or ill-treated. Education as well as entertainment was less available for them, and our authority does not contain any reference to girls studying in the *gurukula*. A girl is seen entrusted to a religious institution for her studies, but the

parents' motive in this peculiar case was to free themselves from the burden of the girl, who was regarded as ominous and unfavourable for the family.[474]

It should be remarked here that girls in this ancient society were enjoying a considerable freedom in day-to-day life. They were allowed to mix with boys. As the stories of Amarā and Megha tell us, girls had the freedom to have friendly conversations with boys in an open-hearted manner. Amarā, who puts forward some puzzles and offers gruel to a stranger, exemplifies the intellectual standard of the contemporary girl,[475] whereas the girl whom Megha happened to meet shows that a girl was free to select her life-partner without obtaining the parents' consent.[476]

As the wife she had a more responsible place. Marriage was generally proposed and arranged by parents but love-marriage was not a very rare event. The economic factor was sometimes the most decisive in marriage and the girl was obliged to take the hand of a person whom she did not love.[477] But in general she does not seem to have been unusually miserable as the housewife. Since wed-lock meant life-long union and friendship, the wife was not to be deserted or divorced. On the contrary, the husband should take care of his wife. Deserting one's wife was a sinister deed which would be condemned by all classes of society.[478]

But the woman had her grievances, despite the social inhibitions imposed and adopted in her favour. A woman with a child in her lap complains that womankind is so helpless before the deceitful and ingrateful man that the latter, once his passion is quenched, abuses the former as a *rākṣasi*, a *piśāci* and a low-born, and reviles with a hundred insults.[479] Sometimes the husband is said to be unfaithful to the befitting, honourable, chaste and devoted wife and go with a slave girl.[480] The wife, as we find her in the Mv., is generally loyal and faithful to her husband, but her service is not always appreciated properly, or love, returned reciprocally. A selfish husband cheated his innocent wife and ate the whole of a cooked lizard (*godhā*) while she had gone for water, without leaving a bit for the starving wife.[481] The husband as envisaged in our authority, is jealous and of suspecting character. He would not tolerate even a saint in her company alone, and would be anxious to

keep her away from other man's sight.[482] King Kalabha brutally butchered a guileless saint merely because he was found sitting in the company of the damsels of his harem.[483] This jealousy and suspicion would not leave the husband even after his renunciation and adopting the religious life, a psychological reality brought to light in the *Gaṅgapāla-jātaka*. The suspicious husband in this story comes in disguise to test his previous wife and attempts to seduce her.[484]

The wife was considered, at least in some cases, to be part of property that could be disposed at the owner's independent wish and will. Alindā, the chief queen of Ikṣvāku was handed over to an old man, without the slightest heed to her wailing, and she was expected to serve and wait upon him.[485] Coming to know that his order was not sincerely followed, the husband threatens to expel her from his place.[486] On the other hand if she deserted her husband, whatever the reason might be, the latter had his full authority to bring her back, even in chains and shackles if he so wished.[487]

This does not mean that married life was a colourless affair between a loyal wife and an irresponsible husband. After all it represents only one aspect of the married life which was, as it is in all times and at all places, but an admixture of joy and sorrow, conjugal love and mutual shortcomings and sincerity as well as selfishness on both sides. Substantial proofs of the ideal married life are not wanting in our text. The *Dharmapāla-jātaka* presents one of the best examples of a successful household life based on morality, mutual reliance and interdependence. The wife does not desert the husband, nor does the husband behave in a manner unfaithful to the wife, whence they live the happy chaste life in reciprocal co-operation.[488] They would live in accordance with the *dharma* and thus lead a life united under the protection of the *dharma*.[489] The restraint in being satisfied with one's own wife,[490] *i.e.*, not to have extra-marital relations, was always highly esteemed as rewarding itself. The husband, overwhelmed by the virtuous behaviour of the wife, expresses his wish to have the same woman as his wife in the next life also.[491]

No doubt the wife had her authority in household affairs, but she had to be satisfied with her position as the subordinate of her mother-in-law. A newly wedded bride had to prostrate

herself before the mother-in-law early in the morning, a custom that was to be observed daily.[492] She would look after the household affairs and keep the house in a proper way. Her sole protector would hereinafter be her husband who is adored by loyal wives both as the husband and as the friend.[493] The affectionate wives adopted the religious life following their husbands, an act of "mixed feelings of love and duty".[494] In case of her failure to accompany him to the forest hermitage, she would display her deep love for him by observing similar ascetic vows at home.[495] But it was not obligatory on the part of a wife to follow her husband to the secluded life in the woods, and she was under such circumstances allowed to re-marry, go back to her parents or stay at the same house as long as she wished.[496]

Divorce and re-marriage were not foreign to the Mv. society. Time was as yet to come for Brahmanic lawgivers to curb these human-rights as unworthy of their formality-ridden society. In case of desertion by the husband, she could get married to her own brother-in-law.[497] There were many candidates for the hand of a beautiful woman, separated from her legal husband.[498] But as a widow, her life may prove a continuous misery and segregation. After her husband's death, she had to relieve herself of all her jewelry, dress all in white and wear her hair in one plait.[499] As the *sati* practice was but a product of the medieval priestcraft, we may regard the reference to a woman's attempt to throw herself into the pyre[500] as mere trick, treacherously devised in order to deceive the parents of the deceased who was not even her married husband.

As the mother her *rôle* was more benevolent and benign. Owing to the fact that the whole future of the family depended on a son, a married woman would always be eager to have a son of her own. It was not only because the husband treated the wife better when she had a son, but also because her own future was in jeopardy as a helpless woman that she was so enthusiastic to have a son. This would explain queen Alindā's desperate attempt to partake of the medicinal capsule, although she was categorically told that the issue would be ugly and repulsive.[501] In old age when the husband or other guardians are no more, she has to depend entirely upon the son who is obliged to look after her.[502] In case of the premature death

of her valiant son, her only succour, she is doomed to die unprotected and unattended.[503] As the mother entrusted with the child's proper upbringing, she had to be more responsible and disciplined, lest she might be reproached by all.[504]

The question whether a woman should be allowed to work for her livelihood or not did not perhaps bother the ancient Indian society as we find it in the Buddhist literature. The economic conditions, not the prestige or tradition of the family, were to be taken into account in this regard. We meet in this society a large number of women employed in diverse occupations and earning their sustenance. Majority of these women, needless to say, were engaged in lowly employments indeed, a natural outcome of her being deprived of proper education. Many women were rendering their service as nurses (*dhātri*), house-maids (*ceṭi*) and menial servants (*karmakarā*).[505] We know nothing about their payment or the occupational regulations they were subject to. In all probability they were earning hardly more than their provisions.

Prostitution was on the other hand one of the most prevalent pursuits of the age. It may be due to the poverty of the family or frustration in normal life that women took to this profession, but it was, remarkably, not as much despised in those days as in later periods. Āmrapālī the courtesan was a leading figure in the public life in Vaiśālī.[506]

A large number of prostitutes seem to have been living in cities. There was a particular street for the prostitutes (*gaṇikā-vīthi*) in all big cities,[507] and there were chief prostitutes (*agra-gaṇikā*), probably famous for their wealth and the power they exercised.[508] Charges for the company of these ladies of pleasure were fixed according to the individual merits, *viz.* physical excellence and mastery in dance and music etc. A charming beauty would charge one thousand pieces per night.[509] whereas a prostitute with some physical deformity had to be content with just a half of that amount.[510] Their availability was sometimes on a contract basis. We find a rich bachelor having such a contract with Śyāmā the courtesan which was originally effective for as long a period as twelve years.[511] Another lady of pleasure refuses an enamoured young man's pleas as she had already accepted the wage from another man.[512] They were generally rich, and held somewhat strong position in the network

of the social organization. Āmrapālī's mango-grove was one of the most beautiful places in Vaiśālī.[513] Śyāmā displays the power of her money by bribing executioners to set free a man condemned to death.[514]

In the field of religion also they had their due place. Women could enter the formal religious life, particularly in the Order of Wanderers. The *parivrājaka* institution seems to have been largely joined by female ascetics. These female ascetics (*parivrājikā*) were famous as a wise, cute and crafty group,[515] and sometimes they posed a real intellectual challenge to learned masters of religion.[516] Pāṇini terms unmarried ascetics as *kumāra-śramaṇā*.[517] Our text informs us of the existence of special convents for female ascetics (*tāpasi*) where men were not allowed to enter.[518] All the same, it seems worth remarking, a nun was not entirely safe from the lascivious eye of the lecher. The Pali Canon bears witness to the unfortunate phenomenon of young and beautiful nuns being harassed by licentious youths. The Mv. tells us how King Brahmadatta tried to coax and seduce a female ascetic.[519]

Thus we find the woman in this society in her usual position where she had been placed since the remotest past. She was protected and beloved as a daughter, as a wife and as a mother; and the same time she was reviled, handicapped, and made inferior to the man who had in his possession all powers endowed by Nature and by his society itself, to supervise and control women.

It is not the bad character of a woman in particular, but the whole lot of them that was exposed to unrestrained criticism and unlimited scorn by the man. The religious factor may have been largely responsible for her condemnation in bitter terms, inasmuch as the woman was, as observed by some writers, the eternal enemy of all religious orders,[520] but her position would have been less servile and more refined, had the layman not acquiesced in such vituperations. She is thought by the coenobite to be tantamount to a snake, to a poisonous leaf or to a charcoal pit.[521] In his eye she was nothing more than an obstacle lying in the way of deliverance.[522] The more one manages to keep oneself aloof from her the better.

Man's supremacy is established by the religious and social institutions. Even animals would be ashamed of themselves

overcome by their weaker sex.[523] What a dreadful shame it would be for a man to be defeated by a woman.[524] Hence, even in a competition of intellectual display, the spectators would desire to see the defeat of the female participants.[525] She could not in their opinion claim to possess more than "two inches' wit" (*dvaṅgula-prajña*)[526] and no woman appears to have been unhappy about the declaration that women were "stupid, foolish, witless and lacking in common sense".[527]

On the other hand, it is interesting to note, even a divine being would not stand before her wrath exhibited in serious intimidations and feminine expressions. The hamadryad abiding in the Big Banyan tree in Vārāṇasī had to yield not before the husband's humble prayers, but before the wife's threat to cut down his dwelling place unless her demand should be fulfilled.[528] An infatuated husband — a crocodile, of course — is seen helplessly giving way to the coercion of his wife and coming to the point of betraying his friend.[529] The tradition maintains that the woman is endowed with innumerable viles.[530] There is a wonderful power in her tears which she sheds by way of impressing men.[531] They are said to try to deceive and trap men by means of their "gesture, wanton behaviour and the excitement of sensual attraction".[532]

SECTION III

Economic Conditions

(*A*) *Agriculture*

The ancient Indian society being a predominantly agricultural one, its economy was of course largely based on agricultural production. Each and every settlement had a large area of arable land (*kṣetra*) of its own, which lay adjacent to the forest beyond the village. For convenience' sake, the village fields were divided into separate farm holdings and boundaries were set for each of these personal fields.[533] Crops were exposed to intrusive beasts and birds,[534] but the peasants soon learnt of the utility of fences and other protective measures as the Pali version of the *Nigrodha-miga-jātaka* reveals.[535] The greatest loss was caused by heat, wind and drought which were beyond their

control.[536] The entire rural economy lay at the mercy of Nature, for the whole agricultural economy was dependent on rainfall.[537] If the rainfall is regular and affluent, the crops prosper and the whole country would be peaceful, well-supplied with food and secure.[538] And when there is no rain in due seasons,[539] it may prove to be the biggest tragedy to society. Sometimes the fields of luxuriantly ripe crops were struck by lightning, too.[540]

We do not gather much information from the Mv. regarding agricultural activities. Water was obtained mainly from rainfall, which was not uniform throughout the country, and from rivers. We hear about the peasants ploughing with great hopes, though there was no assurance as to its fruition in full measure.[541] Ploughing was done with the plough (*hala*) drawn by a pair of oxen.[542] That farming and agriculture were carried out on a large scale is evidenced by the reference to Mahā-kāśyapa's property which included five hundred fields and a thousand ploughs.[543] Different types of seeds (*nānā-prakārāṇi dhānyajātīni*)[544] were sown in the well-prepared fields at due times. Rice being the staple food, cereals (*bīja* or *dhānya*) mainly comprised a variety of rice, such as *vrīhi*, *taṇḍula*, *śāli* and *parṇakula*, etc.[545] Among other grain-crops were barley (*yava*), peas (*mudga*), and beans (*māṣa*).[546] Sesame (*tila*) and sugarcane (*ikṣu*) also find mention in the text.[547]

Horticulture seems to have been a developed branch of agriculture. Extensive lists of trees, attesting to the wide botanical knowledge of the contemporary society, indicate the fact that plants were maintained for fruits and flowers. Among fruit-bearing trees the text mentions mango, rose-apple, jack-fruit, bread-fruit, *bhavya* and *pālevata*, wood-apple, coconut, plantain, palm, date, lime, citron, walnut, vine and pomegranate.[548] Trees like iron-wood, fig, banyan, *kadamba* and *tilaka*[549] were rather meant for timber than flowers. Horticulture was at an advanced stage. From time to time the horticulturist would dig about and around the trees, stake them and hoe around them, and from time to time he would water and sprinkle them by pouring cool water on and around them.[550] It was due to this care that the trees usually were "bent under the weight of their crowns of flowers and ripe fruits".[551] As the occupations of the florist and garland-maker were quite popular, we have no doubt that special cultivation of flowers in gardens

and groves were in vogue. A fine variety of flower trees are mentioned in the Mv. They included *atimuktaka, campaka, vātuṣkara, kulavaka, damanaka, piyāla, tinduka, śobhāñjana, lodhra, mucalindika, tamāla, tilaka, śyāmaka, aśoka, priyaṅgu, vakula, punnāga, tālisa, karīra, kulattha, karamarda, kareṇu, kavara,* trumpet-flower, aloewood and palmyra etc.[552] Ponds were covered with fragrant blue, red, yellow and white lotuses which were brought to the market for sale as the most popular item in decorative works.[553]

(*B*) *Other Occupations, Arts and Crafts*

In the Mv. society there was no lack of occupation, and we do not hear of anybody complaining of non-employment. Many occupations were hereditary, of course, and the son naturally learnt and followed his father's profession. Thus the social organisation continued undisturbed in the economic field of production and distribution, comprising all articles of consumption from food-stuffs to minerals and metals.

Breeding and rearing live-stock was a profitable vocation related to farming and husbandry. The Mv. refers, though in a contemptuous tone indeed, to the prevalence of some sort of dairies, where deer, buffaloes, hogs and other species of animals were reared with a view to killing them for meat.[554] Meat and venison were among the main consumptions of the people, and as such, the existence of many occupations connected with cattle-rearing, poultry and dairy-keeping was but essential in order to respond to their demand. Cows and buffaloes as well as goats and sheep were reared for both milk-products and meat. Shepherds and goat-herds provided milk, curd, ghee and butter, whereas the butcher used to supply the requirements of the non-vegetarian masses. The butcher (*go-ghātaka*) would pierce and penetrate a cow's skull with a sharp hatchet.[555] Fowlers used to catch birds by means of nets (*kāla-pāśa*) and grains scattered as bait.[556] Having set the snare and scattered the bait, he would sit down at a distance and wait till a flock of birds were entrapped.[557] One of the cunning methods adopted by the fowler to catch birds was to cover himself with leaves and twigs so that birds may mistake him to be a part of the grove and come within the reach.[558] If he succeeded, then he would

shut all birds up in cages and feed them with corn and water, and sell them at a good price; paid by the customer according to the weight of the bird.[559] The text indicates that they knew methods to incubate and to recognize the eggs of different species.[560] But his was not a work that always brought in good profits, and sometimes he had to follow the flocks of birds in a wild goose chase, "tormented by hunger and thirst and exposed to heat and cold".[561]

Fishermen could try their luck mainly in rivers.[562] The fisherman's equipment included an iron hook with a long thread.[563] Hunting was probably more prevalent although hunters (*niṣāda* or *lubdhaka*) were not entitled to a higher position than fishermen. The hunter is ranked with fowlers and Caṇḍālas,[564] and described as a person 'black of complexion, with white teeth, red eyes, like a cannibal, in dark-blue garb'.[565] Sometimes hunters put on yellow garb,[566] which served as an effective contrivance to deceive the jungle-folk. They would hunt all types of living beings.[567] The general means for killing animals was the bow and arrow, the sharp edge of the arrow sometimes being poisoned.[568] A skilled hunter could shoot guided by the sound (*śabda-vedhī*) and hit the unseen object.[569] Except bow and arrow, they knew how to use snares made of thongs of leather.[570] To hunt monkeys and serpents, a hunter would smoke the opening of the dens and guard the exit.[571]

Beasts were slain for meat as well as for other purposes such as upholstery work or obtaining precious things. Thus "deer and boars are killed for their flesh; lions, tigers and leopards for their skins; yaks for their bushy tails; elephants for their tusks; and partridges and pheasants are hunted to provide delicacies".[572] Artistic ivory works formed a separate occupation, followers of which were known as *danta-kārakas*.[573] Elephants were sometimes captured, as one reference perhaps suggests,[574] with the help of tamed female elephants for the use of royal army.[575]

Snake-charmers, another lowly group, find mention specifically in *jātakas*. It was a risky job to catch a serpent, particularly a cobra, through the spell of the charms and medical herbs, for in case of a mishap, his life itself would be in danger.[576]

As regards crafts connected with the seven kinds of metal, which are enumerated as iron, copper, tin, lead, bronze, silver,

and gold we find some references in the text. In all big cities there were allotments for goldsmiths (*suvarṇa-kāra*), brass-founders (*loha-kāra*), copper-smiths (*tāmra-kāra*), tin-smiths (*śīṣapicci-kāra*), makers of lead sheets (*trapu-kāraka*) and miners (*kūpa-khāṇaka*).[577] In addition to this there were jewellers (*maṇikāraka*) who must have dealt with precious stones like pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby.[578] The black-smith was almost indispensable in villages as well as in cities, for he made a lot of tools and equipment required in everyday life, including knives, arrows, lances, needles, and fish-hooks.[579] His workshop, equipped with a primitive type of forge and anvil is described by Amarā in her excellent puzzles as the place "where the dead breathe and the burnt is burned again, and kin is struck by kin".[580] Mahauṣadha, the young lover, displays his own talent by solving the riddle as follows: "The smith's bellows blow, the coals glow again, metal is struck by metal".[581] It is interesting to notice that in the black-smith's craft needle making was considered as the most delicate work that would qualify one as a master craftsman.[582] The needle made by Mahauṣadha, if it would actually reflect a reality, shows how advanced this craft had been at that time. His was so fine a needle that it served as the sheath for another seven needles.[583]

Textile manufactures were also flourishing, and it appears that cotton, woollen and silk cloths constituted a very considerable proportion of production. Kāśī was, as we have already noticed, the eminent city in this regard. The silks of Kāśī were famous for their quality and were used as a symbol of luxurious life. The text refers to dyed silks of Kāśī, which goes to the credit of the skilful dyer who did his job by using fine colours and a variety of hues.[584] As an established workman, the tailor or the dyer would write his name on a corner of the cloth he prepared,[585] a method adopted by all craftsmen in order to get publicity. The laundryman (*rajaka* or *dhāvaka*) was entrusted with cleaning and washing the clothes.[586] The *rajaka* and *rañjaka* are thought by some scholars to be one and the same[587] but in our text they are spoken of as two different workmen.

The potter (*kumbha-kāra* or *bhārgava*), though belonging to the fourth caste, enjoyed an honourable place on account of the importance of his craft, which was certainly counted among important manufactures. Since his product, household utensils

such as big jars for oil and water, containers for grains and pots of various types for cooking purposes were at continuous demand, his economic position was secure and life, easy. The durability of pottery was dependent on its being baked properly.[588]

Dance and music are essential parts of any culture. As the basic needs of man such as food, clothing and housing are fulfilled, he gets more and more time to be conscious of and interested in fine arts. The popularity of dance, music, sculpture and painting bear in themselves a witness to economic prosperity, political security and moral integrity of society.

In the lists of various occupations one can easily notice that the first place is given to musicians (*gāndharvika*).[589] Jugglers and acrobats, wrestlers and athletes as well as dancers and performers on various musical instruments could easily earn their livelihood by displaying their respective arts and catering to the public. They formed a very important element in any royal function, national celebration and many festivals.[590] Clowns, buffoons, and tumblers also join the pageant of public entertainers who add to the amusement of the day-to-day life. If one knew at least two or three of these arts, he had no problem of sustenance, and wherever he may go, even in a remote backward village,[591] he could earn enough for his requirements. From time to time there were competitions on various skills, and the best performer could expect a high reward amounting to some thousand pieces.[592]

Music, dance and dramatic performances were also in an equally prosperous condition. They were particularly developed under royal patronage, whence we find a big variety of musicians and dancers employed in the service of the royal palace. Reciters, court bards and singers also found employment in the royal service.[593] Artists such as comedians and actors had prospered partly under the aegis of monarchs and partly on the charity of the rank and file. We hear of a party of performers from Takṣaśilā collecting subscriptions in the streets of Vārāṇasī.[594]

Astrologers, diviners and physiognomists[595] had a big share in the public life during the period of our study. Claiming themselves to be experts in the science of the significance of signs (*lakṣaṇa-guṇa-vidhijñāḥ*),[596] they moved about through cities and villages, and interpreted dreams, physical characteristics

and omens, etc. The art seems to have been developed to full measure, and it may be conjectured that they drew their knowledge of these matters from manuals and handbooks especially meant for their use. The text incidentally presents some dream interpretations,[597] evidently following such manuals.

The arts and crafts were remarkable for the skill and dexterity which could be discerned throughout the process of public entertainment. It would not be mere imagination to think that the society of the Mv. was marked for the quality and standard of its products and manufactures. Kāśī silken cloths were so fine that their value would remain unchanged even after long years of usage,[598] and perfumes were so exquisite that their fragrance was perceptible even at a far distance. A barber was so dextrous in his profession that he could shave a king while the latter was asleep.[599] Mahauṣadha's marvellous needle work has already been noticed above.

This would show how the economic conditions of the ancient Indian society were dependent to a great extent on manual labour and physical accomplishments. Their technological knowledge was not very high; and machinery and equipment, with very few exceptions, were next to nothing. Manpower, which was always in abundance, was the foremost factor in industrial success to whatever measure it had been achieved. Both males and females were employed in manufacturing and labouring works. Occasionally the reader comes across a complaint of day and night toil that one had to endure for one's maintenance.[600]

A washer-woman or a female dramatist may have received the same wages as their male partners. The Mv. does not say anything about the wage system of the day. Mostly it must have been on a day-to-day basis, payment being made according to the service rendered.[601] In other cases it may have been on a monthly basis, paid probably in addition to meals.[602] Wages were generally expressed in the terms *bhāṭaka*, *vetana* or *upajīvana*,[603] but sometimes the wage was significant of the particular service for which the payment was made. Thus the dyer's fee may be called *rañjāpanīya*, and a washerman's, *dhovāpanika*.[604] How much it was considered a reasonable wage for such works, we cannot ascertain from materials at our disposal. It is alluded that if the customer was pleased at the work, he

may pay even double or treble the due charge.[605] On the other hand services like public conveyance seem to have had a fixed rate. The ferry-man's fee known as *tarapaṇya*[606] was counted in this category.

(C) *Trade And Commerce*

In the Mv. we come across a large number of merchants (*vāṇija*), caravan leaders (*sārthavāha*), and guild presidents of mercantile units (*vaṇik-śreṣṭhi*). Merchants were, as a matter of fact, usually regarded to be a wealthy community, and they were the best representatives of the economic *élite* of society. Traders, businessmen and even mediocre street-vendors could of course make considerable profits out of their job and enjoy a comfortable life. Purchasing and selling involving all products, industrial manufactures and commodities had made it possible for them to influence the economic condition to a great extent.

In the matters of trade and commerce, caravansaries and seafaring are understood to have been the most popular and profitable modes in the contemporary society. There were famous trade-routes, as we have already mentioned,[607] stretching from the central part of the Middle Country towards the South and towards the North. These roads and tracks were not, in point of fact, entirely safe and secure or in good condition; and it required a considerble degree of courage and self-determination to undertake a long journey or business on such trade-routes which "were unsafe and rough and passed through dense forests or through waterless deserts".[608]

These roads were, as is known from all forms of ancient Indian literature including Vedas, Brahmaṇas and Buddhist as well as Jain works,[609] infested with a multiplicity of danger to life and property. In the density of jungles there were elephants, lions, tigers, leopards and rhinoceroses, and sometimes they had a bad reputation for being haunted by malevolent spirits or by brigands.[610] The most perilous threat was, as one may reasonably expect, from the organised bands of thieves (*sārtha-caura*) who used to attack the caravans systematically. In anticipation of such lethal attacks, merchants would carry weapons like swords with them,[611] and seek the guidance of those who were particularly familiar with the localities.[612] But fate

may sometimes decide against them and the guide who turns out in such cases to be an agent of the gang, leads the caravan exactly into the trap.[613] Or it may be just by accident that they happened to face a ruthless onslaught.[614] If the caravansary is stronger in number and weapons the brigands may be overpowered and captured,[615] but it was the thieves who proved in most cases to be the stronger party. In that case many of the traders were assassinated and robbed.[616]

Despite these dangers and losses, trade was largely carried on by caravansaries. Groups of merchants that undertook such journeys are said to have consisted of five hundred tradesmen,[617] but the number is no doubt more conventional than strictly realistic. At any rate, the traders used to set out in pretty big organised bodies, with a leader of the whole caravansary (*sārtha-vāha*). The traders were specially careful to select as their leader such an experienced trader who has successfully returned from such expeditions for a number of times.[618] It was due to their belief, as has been observed, that the very presence of such a person would serve as a talisman in the matter of security of the party.[619]

The cart (*śakaṭa*) yoked by a pair of oxen was the most common conveyance.[620] The story of Trapuṣa and Bhallika testifies to the fact that traders used to cherish the belief that some bulls had a supernormal power by means of which they might protect the caravansary from peril.[621]

Maritime trade is more elaborately featured in our authority. It is a remarkable phenomenon in Buddhist literature that various works belonging to this branch of Indian literature furnish much more information about the sea-faring trade than any other literary source of Ancient India. Traders formed compact groups of their own, as was done in land trade, and set out for seaports from where they would sail for foreign lands. Unfortunately, our text does not enable us to comprehend the destinations where they sailed for, apart from referring to Ratna-dvīpa, a mythical abode haunted by sirens.[622] It was in pursuit of wealth that these ambitious traders set sail on the great sea.[623]

Maritime trade was not less dangerous than trade on the land-routes, on the contrary the implications were far more serious and grave in the sea journey. It should be remarked, however,

that the worst danger for their vessals at sea was, according to the Mv., from the leviathan, the monstrous fish that might cause the ship to be wrecked.[624] Reefs or cyclones are not seen as much disastrous as these horribly sinister fish. And there seems to have been in prevalence a superstitious belief that it is never possible for a corpse to remain in the depth of the sea, which casts it off to a shore.[625] Out of this belief a sailor may be led, at the moment of wreck, to kill his companion and get hold of the corpse wishing to reach the nearest shore by that means. In such hapless moments their only succour is the super-human power, to which man submits himself by instinct at the hour of utter ruin and disaster. Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Skanda, Kuvera, and Sahasra-nayana (Indra) find mention among the gods who were invoked by traders on such occasions.[626] The Buddhist tradition seems to inculcate that the only help under such circumstances is the Buddha whereas all other divinities prove incapable of sending forth any help to their rescue.[627]

Trapped in the fatal misfortune from where no escape is feasible, they advise their kinsmen not to cross the sea and find their livelihood in Jambudvīpa itself, even if it be by "going begging round the houses with a potshed for an alms-bowl".[628] The ship being wrecked, the only concern of the merchants aboard is to save their life and reach the shore, and instinctively they get hold of the floating wreckage.[629] The text describes how a trader who could thus survive a havoc at sea came back on foot from the sea-shore, his expedition being a complete loss (*bhagna-yānapātra*).[630] But these accidents were to be compensated by more usual successful returns (*siddha-yānapātra*).[631] It can be surmised on the strength of some hints furnished in the Mv. that some traders preferred to select those foreign lands if they proved to be comfortable enough, to settle permanently. After shedding a few drops of tears over their separation from the motherland and relatives, they would simply forget their native land and start life in a new environment.[632] The reiterated statement that such comfort-hunters are doomed to perish[633] may probably be giving weight to the tacit appeal for maritime traders not to be lured away by such temptations abroad.

It should be noted here that the traders' community had been one of the best patrons of Buddhism from the very inception of that religious movement. It might certainly have been a mere

coincidence that the first meal of the Buddha was offered by two merchants, but the whole-hearted support, financially and otherwise, rendered by businessmen is too explicit and prodigious to be neglected.[634]

As regards the ways of exchange and currency, the text refers to the older system of barter and comparatively modern usage of coins as the medium of exchange. The traditional mode of non-metallic money in the form of goods, livestock, or food-stuff, that had been known from the Vedic age up to the pre-Buddhist Jātaka period, is gleaned in the story of Ghaṭīkāra, although the context implies that it was a matter of past.[635] By the time of the Buddha, this primeval system had disappeared into oblivion, giving way to the new fashion of coinage. The Mv. usually speaks of metallic money, which had certainly become the widely accepted medium of exchange. This may be substantiated by the fact that "by the seventh century B.C., Magadha, Kośala and other kingdoms had started minting coins".[636]

There seems to have been a certain coinage with various denominations, used in purchasing, selling as well as in making payments. The text refers to the amount only, *e.g.*, a hundred thousand (*śata-sahasraṃ*), without naming the particular currency which was taken for granted to be too well-known to mention.[637] *Māṣa*, *pūraṇa* and *kārṣāpaṇa* find mention in the text as distinct denominations of the contemporary coinage.[638] There may have been copper coins,[639] but gold coins were also definitely in use. A thousand *suvarṇa* pieces have been featured as an agreeable dowry given away with a royal princess.[640] Our authority couples this word with *hiraṇya*, denoting gold, and in such references *suvarṇa* must be signifying a gold coin, as Dr. Bhandarkar observed many years ago.[641] Niṣka was perhaps another type of coins, though it is to be remembered that the term is not unambiguous, and that we cannot be certain of its exact significance. In the far-off days of Vedic period, *niṣka* was not counted as a standard coin, but pieces of gold given as sacrificial fees.[642] A reference in the text alludes that *niṣka* was included in donations,[643] probably in lieu of coins, but there are other instances signifying *niṣka* as a golden ornament for the neck.[644]

SECTION IV

Household Life as Lived in the Mv. Society

(*A*) *Infancy*

The indispensable necessity of progeny is always felt as the foremost factor in the happy union of husband and wife, as well as in the continuation of the family-line. A son was particularly desirable for it was the male that was entitled to inherit the father's estate (*paitṛkaṃ dhanaṃ*).[645] Above all, an able son would be the only hope and succour of the parents in the infirmities of senility. A son was hence eagerly looked forward for, and sometimes even religious performances were carried out in this connection.[646] However, it may be remarked, having an issue was not at all a rare blessing in those days, as it is even to-day, and we find families generally blessed with a number of sons and daughters. Śārīputra was the youngest of the seven brothers of his family,[647] and a Śākyan lady, to whom the pedigree of Koliyans is traced, is said to have given birth to sixteen pairs of sons.[648] Taking into account the fact that a major part of the success and prestige of the father's life was depending on the son's career,[649] this ambitious expectation becomes itself clear.

A child's birth was the happiest moment in the parents' life. In delivery, the service of the obstetrician was sought for,[650] and the umbilical cord was cut with a sharp knife.[651] The newly born babe was given a comfortable bath, and wrapped up in soft swaddling made of velvet or antelope skin, if the family could afford to it.[652] In case of a child birth in the royal palace or a wealthy man's house, feast and banquet would invariably, form a part of the celebrations that last for a number of days.[653] Family-friends and well-wishers send greetings,[654] and probably gifts, too. Food, cloths and cosmetics were distributed among deserving ones on such occasions.[655]

There were some rites known by the term *jāta-karma*, which were concerned with a child's birth and infancy.[656] The infant was given a suitable name, usually by brahmins who were respectfully invited for the ceremony.[657] The Mv. holds that the name-giving ceremony took place on the seventh day from

the birth of the baby.[658] The name was to be significant of the child's characteristics, physical remarks or similar phenomena. Thus, a child born in an assembly was called Sabhiya, and a girl whose feet bore the sign of a lotus became known as Padumāvatī.[659] Asita received his name due to his dark complexion.[660] The given name was followed by the surname. Nālaka Kātyāyana, Siddhārtha Gautama or Ujjhebhaka Toṇehāraka can be shown as examples.

Two other rites, *viz.*, *jaṭā-karaṇa* (clipping hair except for the top-knot) and *kuṇḍala-vardhana* (providing ornaments) also find mention in the Mv.[661] For all these ritualistic performances the father's presence was required.

Indian society had a fine and thoroughly hygienic scheme of child-rearing. As the infant's health and comfort were matters of extreme importance, all measures were taken, in accordance with the standard of that time, to ensure its well-being and growing up. In well-to-do families an infant would be provided with some nurses and attendants (*dhātrī*), usually four,[662] entrusted with different responsibilities such as feeding, and caressing. The suckling was at first to be fed with milk, but gradually it was given other nourishments like fruit-juice. After rubbing with oil and massaging, the infant would be bathed with pleasant water.[663] When the child became two or three year old, various types of toys (*krīḍāpanaka*) were given to him.[664]

(*B*) *Education*

Having reached the proper age, the young boy was to start his studies at an early date, but practically not before his seventh or eighth year.[665] Facilities were available for him to follow the primary course of study, which included reading, writing and arithmetic.[666] Pāṇini tells us that a learned father might himself teach his son,[667] but our authority tells us about an erudite father who sends his son to the *gurukula* as he believed that the latter would not heed to studies at home.[668]

The place of the teacher, respectfully called *ācārya*, or *upādhyāya*, was counted among the closest blood relatives;[669] a fact indicating the moral aspect of the relation between the teacher and student. The teacher's place was in a way tantamount to that of the father, and as such, he would look after the students

and safeguard his security.[670] The student in his turn had to wait upon the teacher and follow the rules of discipline. He would carry the staff, umbrella and slippers of the respected master.[671] Some students paid the teacher's fee in cash, whereas others, poorer ones, rendered their service in many ways as a substitute.

Education received at a *gurukula* must have in all aspects been a thoroughly disciplined and well-arranged one. After going through the preliminary stages of studies, the student had to follow a curriculum particularly designed to suit his future career. A prince, for example, would attend to a special course of training which comprised all branches of knowledge relating to civil and martial administration.[672] On the other hand, a brahmin youth, whose would be an academic career, follows a separate course which deals with the Vedas, the mantras and other relevant treatises.[673] The transmission of knowledge from teacher to the student was mainly through the medium of vocal instruction; the pupil following the teacher who speaks aloud the lesson,[674] thus committing to memory each and every word of the lecture. As the writing was now well-known, books were certainly in vogue, although the text never alludes to the existence of books. Some references to letter writing, however, bear out that writing was in use as a means of communication at least.[675]

The maximum age-limit for an ideal student-life is said to have been regarded forty-eight years, and we know that even within the Brahmanic pale, this was considered to be the maximum period of studentship.[676] All the same, this is hardly to be taken as representing the general standpoint in this regard. A student generally left the tutor's place as soon as he completed his regular course of study, and started the life of a householder. Before taking leave as a graduate (*snātaka*)[677] after passing the terminal examination (*anuyoga*),[678] he had to offer the formal gifts to the teacher, which included a sunshade, shoes, a staff, a water-pot and a hempen cloak.[679]

(C) *Marriage*

After completing the studies and mastering himself in a particular profession, he became a qualified youth, awaiting his

marriage. Since boys and girls were allowed to enjoy a moderate freedom, as we have already observed, in making friends and in dealing with strangers, there was a considerable scope for lovemarriages. Parents' consent, caste considerations or class differences hardly came into the picture in this type of free relations. The *Gaṅgapāla-jātaka* presents a vivid picture of a young man who, enraptured with the idea that he would enjoy the ensuing full-moon festival in the company of his sweet-heart, walks in the burning heat of a cloudless noon, but still "blithly singing sweet songs like a fairy".[680] What is remarkable in this context is that the lover was a brahmin youth while the girl hailed from the Śūdra caste. In the *Puṇyavanta-jātaka* a princess is seen sleeping the whole night in a carriage, the only other occupant of which was a stranger.[681] Sometimes girls and boys seem to have fallen in love at the first sight, and the general belief that such love affairs come into being in fruition of not promiscuity, but the constant practice of living together in their past lives[682] must have been a factor that encouraged love marriages.

It is obvious that this was in all probability an exception to the general practice and outlook pertaining to the most important event in one's life. In most cases, it was a matter that lay entirely in the hands of parents, and the whole process of matrimony was dependent on them. Brahmins are seen helping parents to select a suitable bride or groom.[683] and caste was definitely to be considered in such marriages. We hear of a brahmin having a brahmin wife, and a Kṣatriya prince marrying a princess of the same status.[684] Endogamous marriage was given emphasis on the basis of blood-purity, which would be lost by inter-caste marriages.[685] But this does not mean that endogamy was the only type of wedlock that was blessed with parents' consent. On the contrary, the more important for them was the bride-groom's accomplishments in the field of professional competence. Thus we are told in our authority how Mahauṣadha was refused the hand of Amarā by her father, on the ground that he cannot accept a non-craftsman as his son-in-law. And when the infatuated young lover proves his skill in that profession, the latter himself offers his daughter's hand to the former.[686] In the *gurukula* it was but customary

that the teacher favoured the best student by giving away his daughter in marriage to him.[687]

People knew very well that the husband and wife could lead a happy married life only when the couple were equal in all aspects.[688] But as is to be expected, even an ugly fellow would be eager to have a beautiful bride, and a hunchbacked woman would not accept an old man as her husband.[689] In any case, the man could obtain a wife by paying a certain amount of money to the father of the would-be wife; a practice representing one of the ten types of marriage enumerated in the *Vinaya*.[690]

Brahmins offered their service in arranging and conducting the formal marriages. They would find a suitable match on behalf of the interested party, and establish relation between the two families.[691] From the detailed narrative of the *Kuśa-jātaka* we learn that sweets were distributed after the preliminary negotiations were completed and the marriage proposals were approved.[692] The bride-groom was expected to reach the bride's place for the wedding,[693] but sometimes the nuptial rites (*vivāha-dharma*) were performed even without the bride-groom.[694] These rites are not elucidated in the Mv. except mentioning that the couple were made to circumambulate the sacred fire by the right.[695] The bride was arrayed in all her finery (*sarvā-bharaṇa-vibhūṣitā*) and looked extremely beautiful on that occasion.[696] Water was sprinkled in order to solemnize the giving away of the bride.[697]

Marriage, representing the central point of social and moral integrity as well as marking the maturity of the individual, was regarded to be indissoluble and meant for them a life-long companionship which depended on reciprocal love and loyalty. Hence was wished at marriage the unbroken union between the couple, and the husband and wife were supposed to remain bound to each other, without any desertion.[698] Dowry was given and accepted as a general practice,[699] which does not seem to have been opposed by any fraction of society.

Marriage was regarded as the essential element that makes one's life complete. So long as one is not married and has not procreated a son, one remains incomplete. With this view they shouldered the responsibility of married life, and became householders.[700] Husband and wife are generally represented as leading a life of mutual attachment (*paraspara-anurakta*).[701]

To earn and maintain the family comprised the husband's duty, whereas the wife was supposed to manage the household. She would become disconsolate and unhappy in the absence of her husband,[702] and when he comes home after an interval of separation, she receives him with love.[703] In the account of Sabhiya we are told how the wife naturally becomes anxious when the husband gets late to come home, and insists to know what had retained him so long.[704] And such an unusual attitude on his part may lead her to the miserable suspicion that he is developing a friendship with some one else.[705]

SECTION V

Foods, Drinks And Entertainment

(*A*) *Foods And Drinks*

The Mv. furnishes us with ample details regarding foods, drinks and entertainment of the ancient Indian society. The general term for victuals is *annapāna* (eatables and drinks), but equally prevalent was bhojana, denoting food. Food was again classified, according to the nature and quality, into three categories, *i.e.* hard food (*khādanīya*), soft food (*bhojanīya*) and savouries (*āsvādanīya*).[706] Hard and soft food are sometimes called *khādya-bhojya*.[707]

The staple food of the society under review was rice, which is known as odana, ready to be eaten after boiling properly. Bhakta also generally signifies the main food of rice, including different preparations of it,[708] although the word was primarily used in the sense of food (*anna*) in general, as Pāṇini adopts it.[709] This original sense also was in no way obsolescent, for we find *bhakta* employed to denote hard foods other than boiled rice.[710] From the Pali sources we already know very well that rice was the staple food in North-Eastern India at the time of the Buddha. Our text contains casual references to "eight or nine varieties of rice preparations"[711] which suggest the popularity of rice as the main food. The best quality of rice (*śāli*) made more enjoyable by picking up black grains[712] was served at wealthy houses. Rice was eaten with tasteful dishes of pulses (*sūpa*) and curries mainly comprising vegetables (*vyañjana*)

and meat (*māṃsa-prakāra*).[713] We find an important reference enumerating six varieties of flavours (*rasa*), *i.e.* sour, salt, sweet, acid, pungent and astringent,[714] mixed to improve the relish of dishes. Without these flavours, particularly without salt, the food was not counted as desirable, although the poor had more often than not to gulp his coarse meals without these flavours.[715] Mustards (*sarṣapa*) and sesame oil[716] also find mention among ingredients necessary for making a delicious dish.

Our authority does not enlighten us as to how different kinds of vegetables were cooked, nor does it enumerate them. However, we learn that potherbs or greens (*śāka*) were included in the main diet even at the royal palace.[717] The Mv. also testifies to the fact that meat was more cherished by the common man whenever he could afford it. One need not be surprised to see a large variety of animals hunted for their flesh, which comprised a considerable proportion of the daily meal of all classes of the people. Even the Buddhist and Jain teaching of non-violence does not seem to have affected the deep rooted practice of the contemporary society. How they managed to work out a compromise between their religious vows and voracity, it may well be a matter of suspicion or curiosity for the modern vegetarian, but his forefathers of ancient times seem to have been more prudent not to bother themselves about the logical aspects of meat-eating.

Our text reveals that flesh of boars, buffaloes, goats, sheep, cocks, peacocks, pheasants, quails, francolin partridges, cranes and antelopes were consumed widely.[718] Pork, chicken and beef formed invariable constituents of a standard diet. It was this extensive consumption of meat that gave rise to the vocations like those of the butcher and the fowler. Fishermen provided plenty of fish which were largely eaten in the contemporary society. Lizards (*godhā*) and tortoises (*kacchapa*) were also captured for their flesh.[719] It is interesting and equally curious to notice that jackals and frogs were alson ot spared.[720] These were probably eaten only by the people of low classes who could not afford better qualities of meat. Our text narrates how a village boy, picking up a frog, threw away a snake which he found in the fields,[721] implying that snakes were not eaten. The JA. however informs us that serpents were also counted among eatable objects.[722]

Kulmāṣa is spoken of as a coarse food generally eaten by the poor.[723] This peculiar kind of food finds mention throughout Buddhist literature, usually in the form of a symbol of poverty. *Kulmāṣa* was a "coarse thick gruel", to quote Dr Agrawala, "prepared by stewing beans, maize or any inferior grain in a covered vessal with a little water."[724]

Fruits were consumed on a large scale, and we find in big cities the fruit-vendor (*phala-vāṇijaka*) occupying an important place.[725] It was one of the main constituents in the meals of anchorites living in seclusion, far away from where cooked food was available. Besides fruits, the hermit's lunch included edible kinds of yams, tubers and roots easily obtainable in jungles.[726] Yavāgu denotes gruel which was a foremost nourishment counted as a soft food.

Among other articles of food the text mentions, we find grams (*mudga*), beans (*māṣa*), honey (*madhu*) and flour (*saktu*). Pulses of beans provided the auxiliary item of sūpa, popularly eaten with rice, whereas honey could be relished either as an ingredient in the main item of the diet or as a separate drink. Madhu-āsava indicates the prevalence of a dainty refreshment of mead, particularly enjoyed by sipping on the occasions of lovers' union. Madhu-tarpaṇa occurs in the form of a unique food enjoyed by the rich, and is described as "choice and exquisite, having good colour, smell and taste".[727] Our meagre knowledge of this luscious preparation makes it difficult to be more specific than merely stating that it was a well-known nutriment mixed with honey and butter.[728] According to Edgerton, *tarpaṇa* means a particular kind of food, which he thinks may be "dough, paste or meal (?)".[729] Bearing in mind that the *madhu-tarpaṇa* was the food offered to the Buddha by the two merchants of Uttarāpatha, it may be conjectured that it was carried with merchants on account of its richness as a nourishment and probably also of its utility as a preserve. Honey was desirable for its colour and smell as well as taste, and served as a food and a medicine.[730]

Milk products were prominent in the menu of our society. Milk had since long been recognised as a compact liquid good for everybody; and they had learnt to make a number of milk-products including curd (*dadhi*), ghee (*ghṛta*), butter (*sarpi*)

and clarified butter (*navanīta*) that added to the pride of the *bhojana*. Ghee represents the most essential item in the Indian cuisine, without which a meal would not seem worth its name.[731] The absence of curd possibly amounted to spoiling the whole fun of a feast and as such, it was to be purchased at any price on such occasions.[732]

Sweetmeats (*modaka*) were popular throughout the country. The text refers to some "excellent and exquisite" sweetmeats which were "good in colour, smell and taste".[733] Ukkārikā is mentioned as a choice of dainty,[734] which is to be understood as a "sort of sweetmeat made with milk, treacle and ghee".[735] Another class of confections is signified by the word *khajjaka*, contrasted to *modaka*, but eaten also with it by way of refreshments.[736] Confection made with sesame (*tilakṛta*) is included in this category.[737]

As for drinks, the text is not much elaborative. There may have been different kinds of drinks prepared with fruit juice (*phala-yūṣa*). Spirits and intoxicants (*surā-meraya*)[738] were consumed by the masses as we know from many other sources.[739] In grand *fêtes* these intoxicants were largely used by males and females alike. Pali sources inform us about a special drink festival participated by many thousands of people.[740] Liquor was freely taken by prostitutes also.[741]

Before we conclude, a glance on their ways of preparing and eating food would seem in order. Food was cooked in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) keeping in line with the basic points of cookery (*pākavidyā*). That they possessed a broad culinary knowledge is proved by recurring remarks on exquisite taste, smell and richness of cooked food. References to the "choicest, most excellent and sweetest of foods" and "pure, exquisite and sweetly-flavoured food"[742] are indicative of their consciousness of the quality and cleanliness of their meals. Special attention was paid to the ways of attaining the highest taste of what was cooked, as implied by the fact that the text indulges in speaking again and again of delicious foods.[743] And they knew also how to enjoy the nicely cooked and duly served food in the most healthy way. Having taken bath, they would prefer to put on a new clothe and then sit to dine. In rich houses, the nutritious meal was accompanied by instrumental music. After relishing

a delicious dish, they would naturally express their satisfaction by exclaiming "Ha ! Ha !"[744]

Generally it was the wife who prepared food at home, but well-to-do families had cooks (*sūpakāra*)[745] for the purpose. Fire was produced by the same old primitive way of striking two fire-sticks (*araṇī*) together,[746] and the fuels mainly comprised wood (*kāṣṭha*).[747] On the occasions of feeding a special guest, beloved and respected, sandal-wood was used as fuel.[748] The poetical imagery of our compilers takes us to a fairy land where there is no lack of golden, silver, and bejewelled bowls, plates and cups, but in reality crocks outnumbered such costly ones. Mention is made to stone bowls also.[749] The food was always eaten by hand, which was washed after meals.[750]

(*B*) *Entertainment*

Life in North-Eastern parts of Jambudvīpa, as depicted in the Mv., did not mean a monotonous scene of struggle and insipid background of pessimistic ideology, but a spectacular continuity stimulated with a variety of sources of amusement that made life worthwhile. People were accustomed to lead a life of zeal and activity, and to alleviate the lassitude of daily endeavour, they had devised plenty of ways and means of entertainment which included dance and music, sports and competitions, and colourful festivals.

Music as an art (*śilpa*) had three main constituents, *viz.*, dance (*nṛtya*), songs (*gīta*) and instrumental music (*vāditra*).[751] Dance was so common that any celebration or merry-making would certainly include it. *Lāsya* denotes a particularly remarkable dance "especially accompanied with instrumental music and singing", and it represented "the emotions of love dramatically".[752] These musical performances formed a lovely combination that delighted the ear, heart and eye alike.[753] Our text refers to *niṣpuruṣa-nāṭaka* which was a dance in the performance of which all participants were women.[754] Bearing in mind the fact that the dancing girls used to wear ornaments like valaya and *nūpura*, it is not difficult to imagine how delightful it must have been to listen to the pleasant synthesis of musical sounds produced by the orchestra mingled with the jingle of these ornaments.

Songs which were capable of exhilarating the listener were sung by professional singers (*gāyanaka*)[755] That the vocal music was at a well-developed stage is attested to by the references to different types of singers among whom are mentioned court-bards (*vaitālika*), and reciters (*bhāṇaka*).[756] Sometimes the players of musical instruments themselves sang in their mellifluent voice.[757] The quality of voice is described in our text to be "not too hurried, nor uneven, nor faltering, but sweet, gushing and coherent".[758] It would certainly augment the value of a girl if she has mastered herself in singing and fine arts.[759]

Instrumental music ((*vādita*) is to be regarded as an immortal contribution of ancient India. As a means of venerating religious objects, as an indispensable item in festivities, and as a source of entertainment in daily life music had a unique significance of its own, acknowledged in palace and shrine as well as in village and town alike. Our authority seems to be particularly fond of naming musical instruments (*vādya*), and we meet in the Mv. society a large number of professionals whose livelihood is connected with one or the other of these instruments. The text mentions of a large variety of musical instruments including *bherī, mṛdaṅga, paṭaha, kumbhatūṇa, paṇava, tūṇa* or *tūṇaka, ḍhakkapaṭaha, sindhava, viṇā, mahati, vipaṃcikā, vallaki, mukunda, nakulaka, sughoṣa, bhaṇḍaka, veṇu, veṇuka, śambharikā, candisaka, ekādaśika, jharjharaka, vādiśa, vikūṭaka, bhramarikā, āliṅga* or *āliṅgikā*, and *darduraka*.[760]

The most widely known musical instruments were different types of drums and lutes. *Bherī, mṛdaṅga, paṇava, paṭaha, ḍhakkapaṭaha, dardura* and *sindhava* are examples of a variety of drums, *Kumbha-tūṇaka* is also a kind of drum the player of which is called *kumbha-tūṇika*.[761]

We hear of orchestras composing five instruments (*pañcāṅgikatūrya*).[762] The sound of the *pañca-tūrya* played in harmony is described as "gentle, pleasant and charming and not grating on the ears".[763] Needless to say that the fascinating melody of such a coherent concert captivated the philharmonic society with no exception. This enabled a person who had learnt to play on *vādyas* to earn his living anywhere in the country, as evidenced in the *Kuśa-jātaka*.[764] Music was employed as a means to wake up high dignitaries in the aristocratic society;

and in big cities drum-beating was heard early in the morning.[765] Despite the fact that the text sometimes takes us to a distant fairy land resonant with music and other pleasant sounds, it should be remarked that music flourished as an effective medium of entertainment throughout our period.

In addition to this, people were provided with abundant amusement by those social groups who had adopted professions relating to public entertainment. Buddhist literature in particular preserves details about such public entertainers. Tumblers and jugglers (*cakrika*), atheletes (*ṛlla*), wrestlers (*malla*), clowns (*śobhika*), buffoons (*velambaka*) and jesters (*hāsya-kāraka*) as well as acrobats (*laṅghaka*) make appearance in the pageant of contemporary public entertainers.[766] On occasions of vast gatherings such as state-sponsored functions or nation-wide celebrations and festivities, these performers played an active *rôle* in elevating merriment and gaiety.

Sports and competitive displays of physical and intellectual accomplishments represent another significant aspect of re-creation. The extreme necessity of sports, games and competitions for a healthy development of the body and mind had rightly been recognized and such performances were encouraged even by the State. Hunting was a pastime befitting all classes, though it is mostly kings that we find in the Mv. society going on hunting. As one might happen to spend a few days in the woods, it was necessary to carry some provisions, too, on such occasions.[767] People could go to parks and groves on recreation where they might spend a holiday in merriment, participating in sports in water (*udaka-krīḍā*). On such occasions also they would take some refreshments, liquor, perfumes and flowers along with them.[768] Lotus pools were as we have noticed earlier, an essential part of pleasure-gardens; and people selected these ponds (*puṣkaraṇī*) for such diversions. They would enjoy the stalks and flowers of lotuses, and then play water-games as long as they wish.[769] Boating and sporting in boats is also featured as a popular means of amusement. The boats used for these sportings were richly decorated with canopies, carpeted with glittering cloths, draped with flowing bands of fine silk, and were also painted, scented and strewn with heaps of flowers.[770]

Gambling seems to have been holding the same position as a common-place game that it used to hold from the far-off days

of the Ṛg-veda. The text refers to gambling by its well-known name, *i.e. akṣa-dyūta*,[771] but that it is spoken of as a 'crooked' (*vaṅka*) game, and that it is proscribed as an obstruction in the progressive path of the *bodhisattva* point to the fact that it was looked down upon by those whose duty it was to safeguard morality. It may be remembered here, in any case, that gambling finds depiction among sculptures at the Buddhist Tope of Bharhut.

Śālabhañjikā, a sport of special significance, is also referred to in our source of information. Sculptural representation of this remarkable sport reveals, as is pointed out by scholars,[772] that it had especially been popular in North-Eastern India. The Av. describes *śālabhañjikā* as a special sport in which a large number of men and women took part.[773] Queen Māyā's visit to Lumbiṇī may have been arranged on such an occasion.[774] That plucking of flowers was done by hand is given weight by the tradition that Māyā was holding a *śāla* branch with her right hand at the pre-destined moment, but what the actual procedure of this peculiar amusement was, we cannot ascertain from our text. It is generally understood that *śālabhañjikā* signifies plucking *śāla* flowers,[775] but Edgerton interprets it as 'breaking of *śāla* branches'.[776]

Competitive displays of physical and intellectual achievements continued to be conducive to the uplift of social institution as a whole for it helped, apart from providing entertainment, to develop friendly relations and understanding among diverse classes of society. Tournaments of archery and athletics were participated by many youths and watched by the enthusiastic multitude. From graphic accounts of the prince Siddhārtha's tournament[777] we can learn the process of such displays. An able young man would come forward and challenge his colleagues, and as their response comes, there begins the sensational competition which comprised wrestling, jumping, running, and questioning, concluding with the archery as the final item (*paścime nidarśane*).[778] Spectators would encourage the participants by shouting "Ha ! Ha !" and welcome the victorious competitors by waving cloths and shouting "Hail ! Hail !"[779] In case of competitions like playing musical instruments, the best performer was bestowed with many rewards including money.[780]

Public debates form another interesting feature of ancient

Indian life. Buddhist literature contains ample references to the phenomenon that there was an inexhaustive query in the contemporary society as to the best thing among the worldly achievements such as wealth, wisdom, luck, learning and beauty.[781] Eloquent and erudite persons were wandering here and there in search of equal ones who could argue with them. It seems to have been customary among such debaters to put a metal belt around their waist and carry a flaming torch with them.[782] Such debates were watched by thousands of people gathered in the square arena, especially prepared for the debate, which was conducted under certain rules and regulations of common accord. The defeated one usually had to become the pupil of the victorious one.[783]

India is reputed as the land of festivities; a heritage handed down by her glorious and colourful past. Occasional celebrations of these nation-wide festivities represent a healthy aspect of our society. The text refers to these celebrations by the terms *parva*, *prayoga*, and *utsava*, signifying holiday merry-makings, presentations of dramatic performances and festivals. That they had special clothes for wearing on festivals and that a certain amount of their income was reserved for such vivid celebrations discloses the popularity of these festal occasions. The whole city was richly decorated and arrangements were made to facilitate people to participate in large numbers.[784]

These festivities were fixed on the days of religious importance. Giriyagra-samāja and Kaumudī are mentioned in the Mv. as festivals of this kind. In Vārāṇasī was held a monthly festival on the great treasure called Saṅkha.[785] Its spiritual character is borne out by the fact that Elakapatra, an invited guest to the function, put some religious questions before the audience with his daughter as the trophy to be won by answering them.[786]

We are told of *kaumudi-cāturmāsī*, the full-moon festival falling in the month of Kārttika (October-November). Kaumudī signified the beginning of winter, and it is represented as a popular festival participated by all.[787]

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The Mv. deserves to be regarded as a part, more correctly the beginning, of the Vinaya of an ancient Buddhist sect, namely the Lokottaravādins. How far the text represents the characteristic features of the Vinaya, and how far it embodies the special tenets and teachings of this particular branch of the Mahā-sāṃghikas are the points of prime importance, to which we have drawn attention in our study of this valuable composition.

Despite the evident fact that the text hardly attempts to elaborate the disciplinary rules (*vinaya*), it is to be admitted that the Mv. was, originally at least, compiled in the form of a part of the Vinaya. Although it has in its present form assumed an encyclopaedic character, yet this does not overshadow its basic significance as a surviving representative of the Vinaya of an ancient Buddhist school. The text may also be included in the *avadāna* class of Buddhist literature, as it embodies a considerable number of stories of the *avadāna* type. But the *avadānas* are themselves directly related with the Vinaya, and this would all the more confirm its claim to be a book belonging to the Vinaya collection.

With regard to the aspects of doctrinal importance, it is interesting to find how the text proves to remain more in harmony with the so-called Hīnayāna school than with the exclusively Mahāyānic teachings of later times. The text does not speak of a multiple number of *bodhisattvas*, nor does it appear to have been aware of the characteristic features, dogmatic as well as stylistic, of what are generally known as the Mahāyānic treatises. The *sūtras* in the Mv. including the Avalokita-sūtra which is evidently an apocryphal contribution, do not present extensive lists of *bodhisattvas*. The compilers of the Mv. agree with the Hīnayānists so far as the concepts of Arhats and Pratyeka-buddhas are concerned. Arhats and Pratyeka-buddhas are, they hold, fully emancipated and enlightened. The text does not refute the availability of three paths, *i.e.* Buddhahood,

Pratyeka-buddhahood and Arhatship, for attaining spiritual liberation. Moreover, it makes no mention of the fundamental Mahāyānic theories, popular *bodhisattvas* and *dhāraṇi, etc.*

The Buddha known to our compilers is also closer to the realistic, human figure of the historical Śākyamuni than to the transcendental image of the eternal Buddha that we find in the Mahāyānic treatises. It is not to be denied that the text refers to the supramundane character of the Buddha, which represents the basic tenet of the Lokottaravādins; but the biographical accounts, evidently borrowed from more than one ancient source, are perfectly uniform in that they nowhere allude to his supposed supramundane nature. The few references to the super-natural character of the Buddha in our text are, to be sure, in direct contradiction with the realistic approach maintained in the biographical elaborations. Although some of the latest accretions in the Mv. would tell us about Buddhas whose life span extends to an innumerable length of time, of course, yet they do not claim to form an indispensable part of the nucleus of the text.

In the Mv. we find a landmark in the literary history of the sacred writings of Buddhists. Its rich expositions, beautiful expressions, interesting *jātakas*, fascinating legends and poetical charm add to its literal peculiarities, whereas the portions which have their parallels in other branches of the Scripture prove its authenticity. The text is often compared with the Mahāvagga of the Pali Canon, but his comparison is valid only so far as the last quarter or so of the Mv. is concerned. But the large number of *jātaka* stories and *sūtras*, interspersed in the textual body of the compilation help to maintain its relation with the Pali tradition. That the *avadāna* class of Buddhist literature provides a considerable number of passages, sections and stories more or less identical with relevant parts of the Mv. seems to set the question at rest. It is also to be remembered that the Chinese translation of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra closely resembles the Mv. in form and substance.

The apparently unnecessary digressions, excessive repetitions and stereotyped passages persistently recurring throughout the text may well reduce its literary beauty and testify to the fact that the compilers had little acknowledged the merit of a preconceived order of arrangement, but this can be explained by

taking into account the time factor as well as the phenomenon that the original tradition had been committed not to writing, but to memory. Still it is to be admitted that no compiler has endeavoured to edit the text.

The Mv. is a fine illustration of the sedulous perseverance of the devout reciters, to whom was entrusted the sacred responsibility of preserving the Teaching of the Buddha. The text embodies many interpolations, the dogmatic outlook of which is not at all in harmony with the original traits of the Doctrine, but the compilers have never attempted to revise and rewrite the parts which represent the earlier strata of the work. Eventually, the text can still claim, despite the late additions, to be a genuine representative of the ancient Buddhist tradition.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1 The *Mahāvastu*, edited and published in three volumes by E. Senart, Paris (1882-1897). Translated into English by J. J. Jones, London (1949-1956). Senart's edition is published in India with a Bengali translation by Radha Govinda Basak, Calcutta, (1963-1968). Various discussions and articles on the work are found in: A. Barth, *Journal de Savants*, 1899, pp. 459, 517, 623, etc., Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II. pp. 237-47; Windisch, *Die Composition des Mahāvastu*, ASGW, xxvii, 1909, p. 476; Oldenberg, *Studien Zum Mahāvastu, Nachrichten von der Konigle*, Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1912, pp. 172ff, 632, etc.; A summary of the text is given in the monogram Studies On The Mahāvastu by B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1930.

2 *āryamahāsāṃghikānāṃ lokottaravādināṃ madhyadeśikānāṃ pāṭhena vinayapiṭakasya mahāvastuye ādi* (Mv. i. 2.13-14).

3 Lokottaravādins are famous in the history of Buddhism for their peculiar speculations concerning the Buddha's superhuman character. Certain passages in the Mv. also elaborate this theory of the supramundane or docetic character of the Buddha. For details, vide, Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhism Indien*, pp. 575-90.

4 The Mahāsāṃghikas (Great Community or Great Brotherhood) represents the earliest schismatic sect in the Order. They separated themselves from the Theravādins under the circumstances which forced the orthodox Elders to hold the Second Council at Vaiśālī at the beginning of the second century after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. According to the Ceylonese chronicles, particularly *Dīpavaṃsa*, they held a Council of their own whereafter they formed a Canon of their own. Within the next two hundred years they are said to have divided into the subsects: Pūrva-śaila, Apara-śaila, Haimavata, Lokottaravādin and Prajñaptivādin. Mahāsāṃghikas were the most powerful sect within the Order for quite a long time, and they are now recognized by scholars to be the precursors or forerunners of Mahāyāna. Apart from their different conceptions regarding the *arhats* and the *bodhisattvas*, they maintained that the Buddha's body is entirely supramundane, that his material body (*rūpakāya*) and length of life as well as divine power are without limit, that he is never tired of teaching, and that he never sleeps and cannot have dreams etc. etc. For details, vide, N. Dutt, *Aspects*, pp. 98-101, *Buddhist Sects*, p. 60ff; Thomas, *History*, p. 38, 40, 288ff; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India And Ceylon*, p. 148ff. etc.

5 Winternitz, *HIL*, II. p. 239; Jones, *Mahāvastu*, I. Intro. xiii.

6 Thomas, *History*, p. 280.

7 Beal, *Romantic Legend*, Intro. vi.

8 MW., *Dictionary*, p. 932.

9 *ERE.*, vol. viii. p. 328.

10 cf. *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu*, and *Kathāvatthu*.

11 *Mv.* iii. 250. 9-11.
12 Thomas, *History*, p. 280; Winternitz, *HIL.*, vol. II. p. 240.
13 *ERE*, vol. viii, p. 328.
14 Jones, i. xii.
15 Beal, op. cit., Intro. vi and p. 386.
16 *Mv.* I. 27.1; II. 140.1, etc.
17 ibid., II. 195.3.
18 ibid., II. 206.19.
19 ibid., II. 397.7.
20 cf. *abhiya-vastu* (i. 45.17), *mālinīye vastu* (i. 317.3).
21 cf. Mahāpadāna-sutta (*DN.* II. pp. 1-43) which elaborates the lives of the past Buddhas. It should not, however, be overlooked that the text sometimes gives its title as *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, employing both *vastu* and *avadāna* together.
22 Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*, p. 35; N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 7f.
23 Divy., Intro., x-xi.
24 Bu-ston, op. cit., p. 33. The thirteenth Book of the KN., the Apadāna-pāli, is a collection of accounts of the previous existences of *arhats*.
25 N. Sastri, *Gleanings*, p. 1; Av., Intro., ix.
26 *Divy.*, Intro., p. ix.
27 *Av.*, Intro., p. ix.
28 Divy., Intro., p. x.
29 Jones, i. Intro., p. xiii.
30 *iti ārya-mahāsāṅghikānāṃ lokottaravādināṃ pāṭhena iti śrī mahāvastu-avadānaṃ samāptaṃ Mv.* III. 461, 13-14.
31 *ERE.*, vol. viii. p. 329.
32 Jones, i. Intro., xiii.
33 N. Dutt *BS.*, p. 64.
34 *Mahābodhi*, vol. I. 1958, p. 89.
35 Thomas, *History*, p. 280.
36 vide, *ERE.*, vol. viii. p. 328 where Vallée Poussin presents a valuable analysis of the *Vinaya*.
36a N. Dutt, *BS.*, p. 33.
37 *Mvg.*, pp. 1-42.
38 *EB.*, vol. ii. p. 96.
39 ibid.
40 Beal, op. cit., p. 387.
41 Vallée Poussin thinks that the *Mv.* account continues upto the gift of the Jetavana (*ERE.*, vol. viii. p. 328), but this seems to be a mistake as there is no reference to this famous gift in our text. The Jetavana-vihāra is simply referred to in some contexts (i. 4.13; iii. 224.11, etc., but the biographical accounts in the text end with the conversion of Bimbisāra.
42 Gilgit, iii. part iv. pp. 213-55.
43. *Mv.*, i. 64.8ff.
44 ibid., i. 2.15.ff. According to the Theravādins, ordination is of eight types. vide. *VinayaA.*, p. 124.
45 *Mv.*, iii. 48.5 ff.

46 ibid., i. 299.21.

47 ibid., i. 37.7-9.

48 ibid., i. 19.3-4.

49. ibid., i. 301.9, 327.8; *Av.*, p. 4; *BST.* 17, p. 195; *Śikṣ.*, p. 72. See also, Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii. p. 594.

50. *Mv.*, iii. 418.17 ff. cf. i. 301.5 f. where a Pratyeka-buddha, asked if he received any alms, shows his alms-bowl in silence. But also notice the epithet *tūṣṇīka-śobhano*.

51 ibid., iii. 268.5ff.

52. *ERE.*, vol. viii. p. 328.

53. ibid.

54 Winternitz, *HIL.*, vol. II. p. 240.

55 Mv., i. 1.1-2, 12.

56. ibid., i. 2.15-4.11.

57. Another reference to the Enlightenment is found in the story of Dīpaṅkara the Buddha. ibid. i. 228.3-229.12.

58. infra, Chap. II.

59. Excluding some incidental references to some previous births of the Buddha, particularly those which are found in the book of ten stages (Daśabhūmika).

60 infra, Chap. II.

61 It has been suggested that the name should be emended as *Macchariī-jātaka*. vide, Edgerton, *BHS.*, p. 414; Jones, II, p. 45, note 2. This presumption is based on the view that the story as a whole corresponds to the *Sudhābhojana-jātaka* of the JA., the main character of which is known as Macchariya-kosiya. But I am inclined to think that the name Mañjarī is significant and relevant. The story is particularly intended to throw light not on the miser's character, but on Yaśodharā's bashfulness. The bunch of flowers (*mañjarī*) was rightly won by Hirī (Yaśoharā) on the strength of the recommendation of Kauśika, the *bodhisattva*. The word *mañjarī* may mean 'a cluster of blossoms' or 'a sprig'. MW., *Dictionary*, p. 774. cf. *supuṣpitāṃ drumavaraśākhāṃ Mv.* ii. 53.20

62 The title would seem better amended as *Upaka-gaṅgamāla-jātaka*, as the bodhisattva's name in the story is Upaka. Gaṅgamāla was, however, an incarnation of Upāli.

63 infra, section II.

64. They seem to be too numerous. Some of them are found recurring at several places, a point indicative of their popularity. cf. ii. 266.3ff; ii. 401.1ff; i. 174.4 ff; iii. 345.18 ff.; ii. 294.8 ff. For praises of his voice and personal beauty, see ii. 304.11 ff; iii. 260.18 ff; ii. 196.4 ff.

65 ibid., i. 236.7 ff; iii. 94.3 ff., 200.1 ff.

66 vide, Keith's foreword (p. iii) to *A Study of the Mahāvastu* by B. C. Law.

67 Mv., iii. 138.3-239-5.

68 ibid., i. 65.15 ff; 67.13 ff.

69 Winternitz, *HIL.*, vol. II. p. 244.

70 infra, Chapter II.

71 Lamotte, op. cit., p. 169 and 182.

72 *Mahābodhi*, 1958, p. 88.
73 S. Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha*, London, 1875.
74 Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, Keith's foreword, p. vi.
75 Winternitz, *HIL.*, vol. ii. p. 247; Keith, op. cit., p. vi.
76 Mv., II. 44.21.
77 *JAs.*, 1903, p. 208.
78 *EB.*, vol. II. p. 380. It should be pointed out that the text makes no mention of the statutes of the Buddha.
79 Mv., I, 135.7.
80 ibid., III. 178.8.
81 Winternitz, *HIL.*, vol. II. p. 247.
82 Mv., i. 120.9. The reference does not seem likely to be referring to the famous Buddhist school known by this name.
83 *ERE.*, vol. VIII. p. 329.
84 Mv., I. 313.15 ff; 317.1-2.
85 Keith, op. cit., p. vii
86 Winternitz, *HIL.*, vol. ii. p. 247.
87 Jones, i. p. x.
88 Basak, *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, vol. i. Intro., p. xv.
89 Ibid.
90 Edgerton, BHS., i. p. 1.
91 ibid., p. 4
92 (Blank)
93 (Blank)
94 Mv., iii. 77.8-9.
95 cf. ibid., ii. 39.4-40.14, 401.16-402.21; iii. 94.21-97.5, etc.
96 ibid., ii. 36.3 ff., 109.2 ff; iii. 226.6 ff.
97 ibid., i. 134.6
98 ibid., iii. 59.17
99 cf. *vinayo nāma sāsanassa āyu. vinaye ṭhite sāsanaṃ ṭhitaṃ hoti VinayaA., p.* 6.
100 infra, Chapter II.
101 Rahula, *What The Buddha Taught*, Sinhala Translation, p. 8 f.
102 MW., *Buddhism*, p. 71 ff.
103 Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 116
104 Mv., III. 332.14. See also, Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 209-10.
105 Mv., III. 51.8-14.
106 EB., vol. II. p. 84.
107 Grimm, *The Doctrine Of The Buddha*, p. 35, etc.
108 Sangharaksita, *Survey*, p. 125.
109 *Mv.*, III. 331.17. ff.
110 ibid., III. 257.14, 346.2; II. 138.4, etc.
111 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 128, etc.; *Visuddhi.*, IV. 63.
112 Sangharakshita, *Survey*, p. 119; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 157.
113 Jones, III. p. 324.
114 Edgerton, *BHS.*, II. p. 265.
115 See also, Pandey, *Studies*, p. 402 ff.
116 Rahula, op. cit., p. 25 and 26.

117 MW., *Dictionary*, p. 483.
118 Grimm, op. cit., p. 37.
119 Mv. III. 332.1 ff.
120 MW., *Buddhism*, p. 73.
121 *Mv.* III. 314.9.
122 vide Grimm, op. cit., pp. 41-46.
123 Rahula, op. cit., p. 26.
124 *Mv.*, I. 31.13, etc.
125 ibid., III. 332.5 ff.
126 Thomas, *History*, p. 59.
127 Sangharaksita, *Survey*, p. 119.
128 Grimm, op. cit., p. 224.
129 Lamotte, op. cit., p. 38.
130 For references in Buddhist Sanskrit works see Edgerton *BHS.*, II.p. 256
131 Mv., II. 149.3 ff.
132 ibid., II. 132.6 ff.
133 ibid., II. 148. 1-4.
134 ibid., III. 65.9.
135 These are the three states of existence, i.e. *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu*, and *arūpadhātu*. For charts and details, see Lamotte, op. cit., pp. 34-35; Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 36-48; *Mvy.*, 3072. See also infra, Chapter II.
136 MW., *Buddhism*, p. 35.
137 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 156.
138 Rahula, op. cit., p. 28.
139 *Mv.*, III. 332.8-9.
140 ibid., III. 417.2-4.
141 vide, *ERE.*, vol. ix., p. 376 ff; N. Dutt, *Aspects*, pp. 131-158; Thomas, *History*, p. 120 ff., etc. Guy Richard Welbon's monogram *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa And Its Western Interpreters*, Chicago, 1968 presents a comparative study of the subject.
142 Rahula, op. cit., p.50; Sangharaksita, *Survey*, p. 62.
143 Mv. III. 251.7 ff.
144 ibid., III. 200.12
145 ibid., I. 177.5-8.
146 ibid., I. 35.8.9.
147 ibid., II. 43.4-5, 197.16-17.
148 ibid., III. 212.15-16, 217.1-2.
149 Edgerton, *BHS.*, II. p. 135. See also, Grimm, op.cit., p. 340; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 257; Lamotte, op. cit., p. 44.
150 Mv. I. 293.12. ff.
151 *Dharm.*, 32; *AbhidhK.*, i. 7.8.
152 *Mv.*, i. 164.1.
153 ibid., III. 338. 1-2.
154 ibid., III. 67.1
155 ibid., III. 332.10 ff.
156 ibid., III. 331.8 ff.
157 The first two stages comprise *prajñā* and the third, fourth and fifth modes

constitute *śīla*,whereas the last three constituents form the division of *samādhi*. Visuddhi., pp. 581-85. See also, *EB.*, vol. II. p. 354 ff; Rahula, op. cit., p. 65 ff. The Mv. reference lacking in system, is probably indicative of its antiquity. See, Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 119.

158 Grimm, op. cit., p. 206.

159 Lamotte, op. cit., p. 43.

160 Thomas, *History*, p. 58.

161 Grimm, op. cit., p. 208.

162 Lamotte, op. cit., p. 38.

163 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 224.

164 Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 98.

165 Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 107.

166 Sangharaksita, *Survey*, p. 83.

167 vide, Rahula, op. cit., p. 75.

168 Thomas, *History*, p. 66 ff; N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 64.

169 Mv., II. 131.16-133.13.

170 *Śikṣ.*, p. 120; *Dbh.*, p. 33; *Av.*, p. 221; *Mvy.*, 2241-58; *Dharm.*, 42; *SP.*, p. 117. See also, *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 467 where L. de la Vallée Poussin reveals how even Tantric Buddhism elaborates the formula.

171 Thomas, *History*, p. 58; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 242.

172 Mv., I. 285.8 ff, 345.13 ff; III. 448.12 ff.

173 ibid., II. 285.7-9. cf. *MN.*, III. 63., *SN.*, II. 28-29.

174 ibid., III. 62.8-9. vide, N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 64.

175 Mv., II. 416.20. For details and discussions, vide, Thomas, *History*, pp. 56-68; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 96-113; Grimm, op. cit., p. 210 ff; and Rahula, op. cit., pp. 74-78.

176 Mv., ii. 417.5.

177 ibid., iii. 448.10-11.

178 Grimm, op. cit., p. 203, etc.

179 Mv., iii. 446.9 ff.

180 ibid., iii. 336.15 ff.

181 ibid., iii. 66.3-6.

182 vide, Grimm, op. cit., pp. 209-12.

183 Mv., iii. 66.6-9.

184 The Buddha employs the word *ātman* (self) in its simple and practical sense, which denotes but an individual being, oneself, one's own name and form (*nāma-rūpa*). cf. *ātmadīpā viharatha bhikṣave* ... Mv., iii. 339.9-10.

185 Mv., iii. 289.13.

186 ibid., iii. 190.3-4.

187 *SBE*,. 32. p. 374, etc.

188 Mv., iii. 416.17 ff.

189 ibid., ii. 307.13

190 ibid., ii. 325.19 ff.

191 ibid., iii. 190.5-6.

192 ibid., iii. 217.1-2.

193 ibid., iii. 50.11-12.

194 ibid., iii. 212.15 ff.

195 ibid., i. 248.1; ii. 357.16; iii. 283.18.
196 ibid., iii. 430.2-3.
197 ibid., ii. 118.7. etc.
198 ibid., ii. 51.3., 446.3.
199 But see IA., vol. ix., 1880, p. 122 and vol. x, 1881, p. 145 where it is pointed out that Brahmanic system also has adopted the term *śramaṇa*.
200 Mv., iii. 48.18.
201 ibid., iii. 49.13.
202 ibid., iii. 49.5-6.
203 supra,
204 Mv., iii. 180.13, etc. See also S. Dutt, *The Buddha And Five Centuries*, p. 62.
205 Mv., ii. 118.8 ff., 119.14 ff.
206 Devadatta was, according to the Mv., not allowed this special privilege, but how he was ordained, it is not clear to us from the text.
207 Mv., iii. 268.8 ff. The Pali tradition rejects this method. *VinayaA.*, p. 157.
208 Mv., iii. 264.6 ff.
209 ibid., iii. 264.8-13.
210 ibid., iii. 265.1 ff., 421.18 ff.
211 ibid., iii. 265.6-10. see also, iii. 52.1 ff., 423.3-6.
212 ibid., iii. 265.11 ff.
213 ibid., iii. 265.16.
214 Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 66.
215 Mv., iii. 281.17-19.
216 ibid., iii. 265.17.
217 ibid., iii. 48.13-14.
218 ibid., iii. 48.10 ff.
219 ibid., iii. 51.16-17.
220 ibid., iii. 52.1.
221 They are enumerated as *pātimokkha-saṃvara, indriya-saṃvara, ājīva-pārisuddhi,* and *paccaya-sannissita sīlas. Milinda*, 243; *Visuddhi.*, 15
222 Mv., iii. 51.17-52.3.
223 ibid., iii. 421.6-7.
224 They are known as *maitrī, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekṣā. Dharm.*, 16.
225 Mv., iii. 270.14-15.
226 ibid., iii. 422.4-5.
227 ibid., iii. 419.7.
228 ibid., iii. 419.13.
229 ibid., iii. 418.18, 420.7 ff.
230 *adāsi iti te sādhu nādāsi bhadram astu* vo ibid., iii. 388.4.
231 ibid., iii. 387.6.
232 ibid., iii. 195.13-14. cf. DN., i.p. 54 ff.
233 Mv., iii. 452.1-2.
234 ibid., iii. 452-4-453.7.
235 *bhikṣuḥ na tāvatā bhavati yāvatā bhikṣate parāṃ* ibid., iii. 422. 12-13.
236 ibid., iii. 422.14-15.
237 ibid., iii. 422.6-7.

238 Trapuṣa and Bhallika were initiated into the Faith even before the Buddha left the locality of the Enlightenment. Mv., iii. 310.7 ff.

239 Lamotte, op. cit., p. 71.

240 Mv., iii. 408.15, 413.2-3.

241 They are enumerated as: magic performance (*ṛddhi,*) mind-reading (*ādeśanā,*) and admonition (*anuśāsanī.*) Mv., i. 238.4-5; iii. 137-17-18. cf. *AbhidhK.*, vii. 110 *Mvy.*, 232-34; *Dharm.*, 133.

242 Mv., iii. 408.13 ff.

43 ibid., iii. 446.9 ff.

244 cf. MN., ii. p. 175 where the Buddha explains to Vacchagotta how a large number of devout laymen and women have attained *nirvāṇa.*

245 Mv., iii. 412.11 ff.

246 ibid., iii. 412.16.

247 ibid., iii. 412.20-23.

248 infra, Chapter II.

249 Lamotte, op. cit., pp. 73-82.

250 Dr Law thinks that the Buddhist concept of *śraddhā* has much in common with the Vedic idea of faith. vide, *Buddhist Studies*, p. 341.

251 Mv., i. 36.6-7.

252 ibid., ii. 41.9,11.

253 ibid., i. 298.17-20.

254 ibid., i. 299.1-6.

255 ibid., iii. 389.1 ff.

256 ibid., ii. 333.17-20.

257 ibid., iii. 184.4.

258 ibid., ii. 357.8.

259 ibid., ii. 358.8.

260 ibid., ii. 357.5-361.18.

261 ibid., i. 321.18-19.

262 ibid., II. 6. 2-3.

263 They are referred to in Mv., i. 211.15; ii. 15.14.

264 ibid., i. 326.14 ff.

265 ibid., iii. 268.10-17. cf. i. 326.17-20.

266 ibid., ii. 79-9-10.

267 ibid., iii. 373.2-5.

268 *cīvara-piṇḍapātra-śayanāsana-glānapratyaya-bhaiṣajya-pariṣkārāṇi* ... ibid., i. 49. 10.

269 ibid., ii. 49.20 ff.

270 ibid., i. 299.1-4.

271 ibid., i. 299.5-8.

272 ibid., ii. 79.13 ff.

273 ibid., i. 298.13.

274 ibid., ii. 99.6 ff.

275 ibid., iii. 372.12-13.

276 ibid., ii. 79.17 f.

277 ibid., ii. 81.8-9.

278 ibid., ii. 99.5-13.

279 *ahiṃsā paramaṃ dharmaṃ* ibid., ii. 99.5.
280 ibid., i. 38.8 ff.
281 ibid., ii. 362.18-367.14.
282 They include the meritorious acts such as constructing *stūpas* and repairing roads, etc. vide, Lamotte, op. cit., p. 327; *AbhidhK.*, iv. 15 etc.
283 Mv., ii. 370.20-373.7.
284 ibid., ii. 99.6 ff.
285 ibid., ii. 80.24-81.3.
286 Bu-ston, op. cit., p. 21 gives three traditional definitions of the word *saddharma*: *sato sambuddhasya dharmaḥ, saṃś ca dharmaś caiti saddharmaḥ, sataḥ satpuruṣasya caritavyo dharmaḥ iti saddharmaḥ.*
287 Mv., iii. 200.9-11.
288 Jones, iii. p. 421.
289 vide, Thomas, *History*, pp. 198-211; MW., *Buddhism*, p. 181; *ERE.*, vol. II. p. 739 ff. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 30-39.
290 De, *Jātakas*, p. 1.
291 Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 288.
292 Thomas, *History*, p. 200.
293 *ERE.*, vol.II. p. 739. see also, MW., *Dictionary*, p. 734.
294 Kern, *Manual*, p. 65.
295 Thomas, *Buddha*, p. 2, note. i.; *History*, p. 167, note I.
296 Eliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, vol. II. p. 7.
297 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii. p. 403.
298 vide, Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 5
299 Lamotte, op. cit., p. 693.
300 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 4-9.
301 Sometimes he is called *sambodhisattva*. cf. Samādh., p. 40; *Mv.* I. 92.10.
302 ibid., p. 31.
303 *Bodhi.*, p. 200
304 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 8-9.
305 Mv., ii. 259.8, etc.
306 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 43.
307 The *jātaka* tales use the term very rarely. cf. *Mv.*, I.282.14; II.220.14 and 231.1
308 ibid, ii.188.13, 220.4, *etc.*
309 ibid, i.193. 8-9.
310 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 31
311 vide, Thomas, *History*, p. 199 f; Kern, *Manual*, p. 122.
312 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 32.
313 Mv., II.373.14-15.
314 For details, vide, *ERE.*, vol. VIII. p.332; N. Dutt, *Aspects*, pp. 52-58. For references in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, see Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 10-11. The Mv., (ii.362.8 ff.) refers to the three *yānas*.
315 Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, aspiring to become the chief disciples of the Śākyamuni are not called *bodhisattvas*. cf. *Mv.*, I.44.8-9.
316 ibid, i.206.15. See also, Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 9; Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 426.

317 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 50, 58 ff.
318 ibid., p. 50.
319 Mv., i.63.16-193.6.
320 ibid, i.81.4 ff.
321 ibid,i.81.16-19.
322 *JA.*, p.4.
323 *Mv.*, i.238.12.
324 ibid, i.38.11 f., 238.15 ff.
325 ibid., i.238.15 ff.
326 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 84 ff.
327 *Bodhi.*, Chap.ii; *Śikṣ.*, p.134; *Dharm.*, 14; *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (*BST.*No.7), p. 123.
328 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 51.
329 Mv., i.78.11. Sarvāstivādins hold that the *bodhisattva* remains a *pṛthag-jana* throughout the first Incalculable (*asaṃkhya*) of his career. vide, Lamotte, op. cit., p. 710.
330 Mv., i.46.2, 47. 7-8.
331 vide, Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 53-54.
332 Mv., iii.77.18, 289.12, 424.4, etc. See also , Edgerton, *BHS.*, II.p.13.
333 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 14.
334 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 54.
335 Mv., III.138.1 ff.
336 ibid., i.57.8 ff; 61-11 ff., *etc.*
337 ibid., ii,390.14.
338 ibid., ii.393.5-394.23.
339 ibid., ii.391.3 ff.
340 ibid., i.48.7-8.
341 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 55.
342 Bodhi., Chap.ii.28 ff.
343 Mv., i.48.9-10.
344 ibid, ii.396.24.
345 *BST.* No. 7, pp. 127-28.
346 Mv., i.42.9 ff, 53.10 ff., *etc.*
347 ibid., i.80, 16, 81.19, 92-1 ff.
348 ibid., i.39.5-7 passim.
349 ibid., i.80.6 f.
350 ibid., i.40.7 ff.
351 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 65.
352 Mv., i.39.5 f; iii.138.16 f; AsP., p. 435; Av., p. 4, etc.
353. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 66. *Dbh.* (p. 11) includes ten wishes in the resolve. Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa, quoted by Vallée Poussin, also has a longer formula, vide, Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 289.
354 MW., *Dictionary*, p. 660.
355 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 65.
356 Edgerton, *BHS.*, II.p. 360.
357 Mv., I.239.5; iii.138.19. Sometimes the word is employed to denote non-religious aspirations, too. cf. ibid., i.302.19; iii.414.12.

358 *JA*, p. 7.
359 *Mv.*, iii.138.20, 139.10.
360 Saṅgharakṣita, *Survey*, p. 445.
361 *Mv.*, i.39.5 passim.
362 Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 94-97.
363 *Śikṣ.* p. 57.
364 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 77; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p.288.
365 *Mv.*, iii.318.14-25.
366 ibid., i.57.5 ff.
367 ibid., 102.16-17, 103.9-10.
368 ibid., 103.13-14.
369 *ERE.*, vol.
370 These details sometimes contrast the image of the bodhisattva found in some *jātaka* stories.
371 *Mv.*, i.104.4-5.
372 ibid., II. 79.1-81.13.
373 ibid., ii.330.15-16.
374 ibid., ii.368.1-2.
375 ibid., i.101.8-10.
376 ibid., ii.369.2 ff.
377 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p.228.
378 *KN. V.*, p. 489.
379 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 282.
380 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 242.
381 Visuddhi., vi.
382 vide, Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 271. cf. *Dhammasaṅganī*, section 277.
383 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 240.
384 *Mv.*, i.78.11-12.
385 N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects*, p. 26.
386 MW., *Dictionary*, p. 763; Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 410.
387 See also, Thomas, History, p. 200; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 270.
388 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 271 ff.
389 ibid., p. 273.
390 *ERE.*, vol.ii.p.743.
391 ibid.
392 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 271.
393 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 242. See also, Elliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, vol. ii.p.9.
394 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 271.
395 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 238 ff.
396 *Mv.*, i.77.13.
397 ibid., i.78.10.
398 ibid., i.78.11-12.
399 AsP. p. 281.
400 *Dbh.* (BST. No. 7), p. 24.
401 ibid., p. 26.

402 *Mv.*, i.78.15-17.
403 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine.*
404 *AsP.*, 307.
405 *Mv.*, i.83.15 ff.
406 ibid., i.85.16.
407 ibid., i.85.4-11.
408 ibid., i.89.12 ff.
409 ibid., i.91.12-95. 16.
410 ibid., i.96.4 ff.
411 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 280, 287, *etc.*
412 AsP., p. 298.
413 *Mv.* i.110.5-11.
414 ibid., i.120.7-11.
415 ibid., i.127. 3-7.
416 ibid., i.105.16.
417 ibid., i.139.4-141.19.
418 ibid., i.142.2-3.
419 ibid., i.97-2-20.
420 ibid., i.101.6-105.2.
421 ibid., i.98.3 ff.
422 ibid, i.102.5; ii.296.6-7; iii.67.4.
423 Mrs. Suzuki, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 4, 14, etc.
424 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 5, note.i. But he includes it in the third period also, that is to say, the beginning of Mahāyāna (*circa*-100 B.C.).
425 *ERE.*, vol. viii.p.739.
426 Mrs. Suzuki, op. cit., p. 6.
427 *Mv.*, i.166.15.
428 ibid., i.174. 10-11.
429 ibid., i.98.13.
430 ibid., i.68.19.
431 ibid., i.191. 9-10.
432 ibid., 193 1-3.
433 ibid., iii.326.5-8, 11-12. cf. Mvg., p. 11.
434 Udāna, i.84.
435 *Mv.*, i.180.10, 219.9; ii.41.7, etc.
436 vide, Mrs. Suzuki, op.cit., pp. 14-15.
437 Mv., II.286.2-5.
438 ibid., i.161.9 ff.
439 ibid-, i.257.6 f.
440 *MN.*, iii.227.
441 *AbhidhK.*, vii.34. Milinda, does not, however, agree with this and forwards arguments to refute this theory. See also, N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 111.
442 *Mv.*, i.104. 6-7.
443 ibid., i.167.17-170.10.
444 ibid., i.218.15; ii.20.16.
445 ibid., ii.21.3.
446 ibid., i.170. 1-2.

447 ibid., ii.75. 13-15.
448 ibid., iii.124.13, *etc.*
449 ibid., i.170.4.
450 ibid., iii.269.8.
451 ibid., ii.204.12.
452 ibid., ii.239. 3-4.
453 ibid., ii.277.16 ff.
454 Jones translates the word as 'depends on his belly' (ii.p.260), evidently thinking of *udara*. But it is beyond doubt that the term is here employed to signify a gross, corporeal body made of four elements (*mahā-bhūta*). See also, Edgerton, *BHS*., ii.p. 161.
455 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 110; *Buddhist Sects*, p. 77 ff.
456 Mv., ii.124.1 ff.
457 Mrs. Suzuki, op. cit., p. 36.
458 Thomas, *History*, p. 242.
459 For details, vide, N. Dutt, *Aspects*, pp. 96-128; *ERE*, vol.i.p.95; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 27; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 267-72.
460 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 99, 117; *Buddhist Sects*, p. 78 ff.
461 *Mv*., i.44.4.
462 Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 267.
463 Mrs. Suzuki, op. cit., p. 38.
464 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 99.
465 Mv., iii.55. 1-3.
466 N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 100.
467 AsP., p. 98. *Samādh*., p. 143.
468 vide, Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 27.
469 Mv., i.123. 7-126.4. The Theravāda tradition is of the opinion that only one Buddha can exist at a time. *MNA*.III. p. 885.
470 ibid., i.67.8.
471 ibid., i.74. 8-9.
472 ibid., iii.225.21.
473 N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects*, p. 79.
474 *Points of Controversy*, p. 258.
475 *DNA*, III.3.
476 *Mv*., i.41.14.
477 ibid., i.178.8.
478 ibid., i.179.6 ff.
479 ibid., i.180.14.
480 ibid,. i.185.4 ff.
481 ibid., i.301.3. Jones misunderstands the sentence and translates it as "Whenever Buddhas appear in the world, Pratyekabuddhas also appear". Jones , I.p. 249.
482 Mv., i.357 16 ff.
483 ibid., iii.27 .1 ff.
484 ibid, i.30.4.7.*etc.*
485 ibid, i. 47. 7-8.
486 ibid, i.103.14; III.57.13.

487 ibid., iii. 27.11, *etc.*
488 ibid., i.357. 5 ff.
489 They are known as the path (*magga*) and the fruit (*phala*) of *sotāpatti*, *sakadāgamī*, *anāgāmī* and *arhat*.
490 *Mv.*, i.106.15.
491 ibid., i.291.16 ff.
492 ibid., iii.57.14.
493 ibid., i.192.7.
494 ibid., i.107.
495 ibid., i.33. 6; ii.361.2.
496 *ERE*, vol. viii.p. 331.
497 *Mv.*, i.59.11.
498 ibid., i.37. 6-7.
499 ibid., i.306. 5-6.
500 ibid., i.293. 19-23.
501 cf. ibid., i.4.15, 35.3, 75.8 ff., *etc.*

CHAPTER II

1 MW., *Dictionary*, p. 7.
2 Mvy., 62, Bu-ston, op. cit., p. 31.
3 For details of these divisions, vide, *EB.*, vol.i, pp. 615-19; Bu-ston, op. cit., pp. 31-33; N. Dutt, *Aspects*, pp. 7-11; Lamotte, op. cit., pp. 158-61.
4 Dharm., 62; MndA., pp. 190-91.
5 VinayaA., p. 28; ANA., iii.p.5.
6 Lamotte, op. cit., p. 159.
7 *SP.*, p. 30.
8 *Mv.*, i.300.2 ff.
9 *VinayaA.*, p. 13.
10 cf. sūtrānta-vaiyākaraṇābhigīto Mv., iii. 122.21.
11 MN., iii.p.236 ff., and p. 250 ff.
12 vide, MN., i. Intro., xix.
13 Mv., i.9.1 ff. cf. ibid., iii.454.7 ff.
14 JA., Fausboll, vol.v.pp.266-70.
15 infra. p.p. 154-160.
16 Khuddaka-pāṭha, vi (KN. i.p.6); Sn.- ii.1 (KN., i.p. 301).
17 *Mv.*, i.290.11. cf. JA., Fausboll, ii.p.34.
18 *MN.*, ii.p. 271 ff.
19 *SN.*, i.p. 33 f.
20 *MSV.*, p. 132.
21 vide, *MN.*, i. Intro., xix.
22 *DN.*, iii.p.63 ff.
23 Beal, *Legend*, pp. 17-23; Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 1-15.
24 *MN.*, i.Intro., xxii. According to Mahā-paṇḍit Rahul Sankrityayan the fifth *sūtra* of the Chinese Dirghāgama also corresponds to this. vide, Pande, *Studies*, p. 77.
25 *MN.*, i. p. 209 ff.

26 ibid., ii.p.318 ff; i.p.291 ff.
27 vide, *EB.*, vol. ii.p. 404.
28 *Śikṣ.*, p. 53, 156.
29 *EB.*, vol.ii.p. 404.
30 *Śikṣ.*, p. 158.
31 *SN.*, ii.p. 182 ff.
32 *DN.*, ii.p. 165 ff.
33 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 104 ff; De, op. cit., p. 50.
34 Cariyāpiṭaka, i.5 (KN., vii.p.390). See also, De, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
35 *BST.*, No. 17, p. 192.
36 *Mv.*, iii.240.11 16; 243.19, 246.16, etc.
37 ibid., iii.334.2 ff.
38 vide., Pande, *Studies*, p. 53.
39 *DN.*, ii.p.1 ff.
40 *VinayaA.*, p. 13; *MndA.*, p. 190.
41 Bu-ston., op. cit., p. 31.
42 ibid., pp. 31-32.
43 *VinayaA.*, p. 13; *MndA.*, p. 191.
44 Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 70.
45 DPN., i.p. 374.
46 Bu-ston, op.cit., p. 32.
47 Mv., ii.286.1.
48 *DPN.*, i.p.374. cf. *Mv.*, i.351.13.
49 Mv., ii.417.9 ff.
50 *Mvg.*, i.1.1-2 (p. 3-4); *Udāna.* i.1-3.
51 DhA., p. 503, LV., p. 253. See also, Thomas, Life, pp. 75-79.
52 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 240.
53 cf. *Mv.*, ii.219.19, 220.4.
54 vide, N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 8 ff.
55 *VinayaA.*, p. 13.
56 vide, De., op.cit., p. 36.
57 cf. *Śyāmaka-jātaka*, Karma-vibhaṅga, 50.6 (BST.No. 17, p. 192), *Viśvantara-jātaka*, Bu-ston, op. cit., p.33.
58 *JAs.*, 1875, v. p. 424.
59 *EB.*, vol.ii.p. 618.
60 Bu-ston, op. cit., p. 33.
61 *Mv.*, ii.30.19. But the text sometimes uses the word not in the sense of a Scriptural division. cf. i.175.17.
62 ibid., i.210.13 ff; ii.14.12 ff.
63 This would include only the *jātakas* directly concerned with the *bodhisattva*. There are some other tales which bear the name *jātaka*, *e.g.* the *jātakas* of Yaśoda, Uruvilvā Kāśyapa, and Ajñāta-kauṇḍinya, which are rather closer to the *avadāna* form of Buddhist legends.
64 vide, DPN., i.p. 859.
65 *Mv.*, i.284.7 ff.
66 JA., Cowell, vi.p. 252 ff. Āryaśūra does not however insist on the elephant's efficacy in bringing rain. cf. JM., p. 56.

67 JA., ii.p. 258 ff.
68 Mv., i.283.9 ff., i.288.7-8, 290.3-5.
69 ibid., ii.209.10-231.5.
70 ibid., iii.130.4-137.15.
JA., Cowell, vi.p. 40 ff.
71 Beal, Legend, p. 366 ff.
72 Av Kalp., pp. 547-51. Karmavibhaṅga, 55.17 and 56.12 probably refers to the *Śyāmaka-jātaka*. *BST*. No. 17. p. 192.
73 *Mv*., ii.209. 6-8.
74 cf. *Av. Kalp*., p. 547.
75 *Mv*., II.221.3-4.
76 For variant forms of this name, see Edgerton, *BHS*., II.p.534; Beal, *Records*, I. p. 111.
77 *Mv*., ii.209.13; *Av. Kalp*., p. 548.
78 It is stated that Dukūlaka, not inclined to infringe his strict observance of celibacy, did only touch her navel with his finger. JA., *Cowell*, v.p.41. See also, *VinayaA*., p. 108.
79 JA., Fausboll, vi.p. 74.
80 *Mv*., iii.130. 1, Beal, *Legend*, p. 366.
81 Foucher, *Les Vies Anterieures du Bouddha*, p. 119.
82 Mv., i.92.13-15.
83 ibid., i.92.2-9.
84 ibid., ii.257.5.
85 ibid., i.93.4-95.14.
86 The Rasavāhinī embodies the story of Dhamma-soṇḍa which has a similar theme: vide, *Rasavāhinī*, Jinalankara Press, Colombo, 1896, part I, pp. 2-6.
87 *Av*., p. 85 ff.
88 ibid., p. 87. The Mv., has three different sayings. I. 92.20, 94.8; II. 256.17-18.
89 Mv., III.33.9, 41.12. cf. Av., p. 84.
90 ibid., iii.40.15-16.
91 supra, Chapter I.
92 In the *Mahā-ummagga-jātaka* we find Mahauṣadha arguing in preference of wisdom to wealth, and finally convincing the stupid king of the accuracy of his theory. JA., Cowell, vi.pp.179-82.
93 *Mv*., iii.41.14 ff.
94 ibid, iii.42.17.
95 JM., pp. 20-23.
96 JA., i.pp.201-03. See also, *DhA*., p. 271.
97 JM., p. 21.
98 JA., iii.p. 28-31.
99 Edgerton, *BHS*., ii.p.199.
100 *Mv*., iii.358.3 ff.
101 SNA., iii.p.27 ff.
102 *BST*. No. 17, p. 81; *SBE*., 49, ii.p.128.
103 Beal, *Records*, i.p.121, note 10.
104 JA., Cowell, v.pp.64-78.

105 They are Kalabha, Arjuna and Nārikela. *Mv.*, iii.361.3, 4, 12; JA., Cowell, v. pp.71-72.
106 *MNA.*, ii.p. 599 ff.
107 *JA.*, Cowell, iv, pp. 32-35.
108 *Mv.*, ii.77.3.
109 *JA.*, ii.p.62 ff.
110 infra.
111 *Mv.*, ii.64.8 ff; Beal, Legend, pp. 81-83.
112 Beal, *Legend* p. 82.
113 *Mv.*, ii.66.22-67.7. cf. JP., i.p.101.
114 *JA.*, iii.p.42 ff.
115 *Hārīta-jātaka* remarks that the *bodhisattva* might commit any serious sin except telling lies, which is regarded in Buddhist ethics as the gravest immorality.
116 *Mv.*, iii.177.5-6.
117 ibid., ii.177.13 ff.
118 JA., Cowell, iv.p. 281 ff.
119 *Mv.*, ii.69.11 ff.
120 infra.
121 Beal, *Legend*, pp. 99-100.
122 JA., iv., pp. 282-88.
123 ibid.
124 *Mv.*, ii.85.19 ff.
125 *JA.*, iii.p.197 ff.
126 *JA.*, Cowell, vi.p.246 ff.
127 cf. *vatthu mahā-ummagga-jātake āvibhavissati* JA., iii.p.197. Till recently the story of Amarā and Mahauṣadha was thought to be identical with the Pali reference in the Mahā-ummagga-jātaka. vide, *DPN.*, i.p. 147 where Dr Malalasekara wrongly makes the identification.
128 The *AbhiS.* version also does not give names, Beal, *Legend*, pp. 93-96. See also, Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 63.
129 *Mv.*, ii.89.15 ff. The *Kāka-jātaka* ridicules the foolish attempt by the crows to empty the great ocean. *JA.*, i.p. 417. cf. *DhA.*, p. 692.
130 Beal, *Legend*, pp. 93-96.
131 *Mv.*, ii.94.11.
132 ibid., ii.94.19 ff.
133 *Divy.*, pp. 283-300; *MSV.*, pp. 81-98; *Av. Kalp.*, pp. 386-410.
134 *Mv.*, ii.102.17
135 ibid, ii.99.5-15.
136 ibid., ii.234.15 ff.
137 Beal, *Legend*, pp. 346-48.
138 *JA.*, iii.pp. 126-29.
139 *Mv.*, iii.143.9. The *AbhiS.* also refers to the *Nalinikā-jātaka*. The story seems to be a popular legend, containing the serious warning to the ascetic against the threat of falling into the trap of women.
140 JA., Cowell, v.p. 100 ff.
141 *Mv.*, iii.152.17. cf. JA., v.p. 209.

142 *ThigA.*, p. 145.

143 She had offered some lotus flowers to a Pratyeka-buddha in one of her past lives. In the authorities of the Northern School, however, Utpalavarṇā is featured as a wife of Siddhārtha. See infra, Chap. III.

144 *Mv.*, ii.48.17 ff.

145 *JA.*, Cowell, v.p. 202 ff. The *Illīsa-jātaka* describes a similar train of events. cf. JA., i.p. 293 ff.

146 JA., Cowell, v.p. 205.

147 *Mv.*, ii.52.5-8. cf. JP., ii.p. 106.

148 In the Pali annals also there are some *jātakas* in which Māra opposes the *bodhisattva's* exertions, but such instances are exceptional.

149 *Mv.*, ii.241.14 ff. cf. Beal, *Legend*, p. 234 f.

150 JA., i.p. 365 ff.

151 *Mv.*, II. 244.5-245.15. According to the *AbhiS.*, the tortoise used to traverse the florist's garden in search of food, and thus trample and destroy the flowers which aroused antagonistic feelings in the florist.

152 *JM.* (Appendix), p. 249; Beal, *Legend*, p. 230 ff.

153 *Mv.*, ii.246.3 ff.

154 *JA.*, ii.pp. 114-15; iii.pp.92-93; Beal, *Legend*, pp. 231-34.

155 *Mv.*, ii.246.15.

156 According to Chinese sources, the female crocodile has been identified as Ciñcā the *mānavikā* (young religiuce). Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, p. 393.

157 Mv., ii.250.19 ff.

158 ibid., iii.28.6 ff.

159 Beal., *Legend*, pp. 234-35.

160 *Mv.*, iii.29.9 ff.

161 *JA.*, i.pp. 151-53.

162 ibid., p. 153.

163 *JA.*, Cowell, v. p. 141 ff.

164 *MSV.*, pp. 62-68.

165 *JA.*, Fausboll, v.p. 281. It is a favourite item in the Pali annals where we often find individuals visiting heaven alive.

166 *Mv.*, ii.436.3 ff.

167 ibid., ii.432.15; MSV., p. 63; JA., Fausboll., V.p. 281.

168 JA., Cowell, v.p.143.

169 ibid., p. 149; Mv., ii.450.4.

170 *Mv.*, ii.459.1 ff; iii.13.16-17.

171 *MSV.*, p. 64.

172 *JA.*, Cowell, v.p. 153.

173 *Mv.*, ii.492.6; *JP.*, ii.p.79. The Pali tradition gives some interesting details about this gem which was inherited by Kosala king as a heirloom. Once the gem was stolen, but recovered by following the judicious instructions of Ānanda. *SNA.*, I.p.115.

174 *MSV.*, p. 66.

175 *Mv.*, ii.420.4.

176 ibid., iii.286.16 ff.

177 *JA.*, i.p.337.

178 ibid., i.p.394 ff.
179 *SBE.*, 35, pp. 283-93.
180 *Mv.*, iii.125.10-129.16.
181 Beal, *Legend*, p. 350 ff.
182 *JA.*, ii.p.304.
183 *Mv.*, iii.182.10-197.3
184 Beal, *Legend*, p. 353 ff; JA., Cowell, iii.p. 266.
185 Another source records a similar incident about Prasenajit Kosala. He was, says that authority, born six times in heaven and then six times as the king in Śrāvastī by the merit acquired by offering *kulmāṣa* to a Buddha. *MSV.*, p. 56 ff.
186 Beal, *Legend*, p. 354.
187 *Mv.*, iii.183.17, 184.1.
188 JA., *Cowell*, iii.p. 270.
189 *JM.*, pp. 16-19.
190 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 169.
191 *Mv.*, iii.186.11. cf. Av. Kalp., p. 169.
192 *JP.*, I. p. 47.
193 *JM.*, p. 19.
194 *Mv.*, iii.67.17 ff.
195 *JA.*, Fausboll; II. pp. 127-30.
196 Mvg., p.41; *DhA.*, p. 57.
197 See also, Beal, *Legend*, p. 332, note i.
198 JA., II. p. 130, Beal, *Legend*, p. 340
199 *Gv.*, p. 413.
200 Beal, *Records*, ii.p.242.
201 *Mv.*, iii.349.11 ff., 354.1 ff.
202 ibid., iii. 449. 14.
203 *JA.*, Cowell, v. pp. 127-134.
204 *Mv.*, iii.452.13 ff. cf. JP., ii.p.59.
205 *Mv.*, iii.450.14.
206 The next *jātaka* in the JA. contains a similar description of hells. See, *Saṃkicca-jātaka*, JP., ii.pp.65-70.
207 *Mv.*, i.271.20 ff.
208 JA., Fausboll, v. p. 109 ff.
209 *DhA.*, pp.508-09.
210 *Mv.*, i.359.18 ff.
211 *JA.*, i.pp.132-38.
212 *Mv.*, i.366. 1-2. cf. JP., i.p. 82.
213 *Mv.*, iii.420.5.
214 JA., Cowell, iii.p.216 ff.
215 *Mv.*, iii.419.4-420.2.
216 ibid., i.231.18 ff.
217 The earliest stage introduced the three former Buddhas of the present aeon, *i.e.* Krakucchanda, Konāka-muni, and Kāśyapa. The idea was gradually developed and the tradition accepted many Buddhas, six at first, then twenty-four, and so on.

218 *SP.*, p. 14; *LV.*, p. 4; *Divy.*, p. 153; *GV.*, p. 81; *AsP.*, p. 24; *Mvy.*, 95; *SBT.* No. 17 (Karmavibhaṅga), p. 195; *SBE.*, 49, ii.p. 122, etc.
219 *JA.*, i.p.2 ff; Bv., ii.4 (KN., vii.p. 305).
220 *Divy.*, p. 152; *Av.* Kalp., p. 508.
221 According to the *Divy.*, flowers were so expensive at that particular day because the king had already ordered all flowers in the city for himself.
222 *JA.*, i.p. 13; Beal, *Legend*, p. 11.
223 Beal, *Records*, p. xxxv.
224 ibid., p. 92.
225 *Mv.*, i.241.1. See also, *IA.*, vol. xi., p. 146; *ERE.*, vol.ii.p.739.
226 *JA.*, i.p.16.
227 Mv, i.244.19.
228 Divy., p. 157 ff; *Av.*, *Kalp.*, p. 514.
229 Foucher, *Les Vies Anterieure Du Bouddha*, p. 50.
230 supra. p. 82.
231 *Mv.*, i.267.14 ff. cf. *SNA.*, pp. 227-28.
232 *Mv.*, i.301.3 ff.
233 ibid, i.317.4 ff.
234 *Divy.*, p. 13; Av., p. 151; *MSV.*, p. 122, etc.
235 *ThigA.*, p. 12.
236 *MNA.*, ii.4.
237 supra. pp. 82-3.
238 *JA.*, i.p.153
239 *Mv.*, i.338. 13-357.4.
240 vide, *EB.*, vol.ii, p.259; Pande, *Studies*, p.111.
241 Winternitz., *HIL.*, vol.ii.p. 43.
242 vide, Thomas, *Life*, p. 11; Law, *Tribes*, pp. 163-75.
243 Sastri, *Outline*, p. 6.
244 *Mv.*, iii.56.6.
245 *Av.*, p. 255; Beal, *Legend*, p. 324.
246 *Mvy.*, 4120.
247 *Mv.*, iii.56.13.
248 ibid., iii.56-16.
249 Edgerton points out that *Mv.* MSS. often have Śāliputra. *BHS.*, II. p.526.
250 *Mv.*, iii.269.11, etc.
251 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p.526; *DPN.*, ii.p. 1108.
252 Mv., iii.56.10.
253 *DhA.*, p. 53.
254 Vaṅganta, *DhA.*, p. 320; Tiṣya, *Av.*, p.255; Dhanadatta, Beal, *Legend*, p. 324.
255 *Mv.*, iii.56.12.
256 Only five are named here. [The missing name, probably that of the second brother, is found in the *AbhiS.*, as Sudharma. Beal, *Legend*, p. 324.
257 Their names, according to this school, are given as follows : Cunda, Upasena, Revata, Cālā, Upacālā, and Sisūpacālā. See also, *DPN.*, ii.p. 1108
258 *DhA.*, p. 54.
259 *Mv.*, iii.57.12 ff; cf. *DhA.*, p. 54.

260 Beal, *Legend*, p. 324.
261 *DPN.*, i.p.1116.
262 *Av.*, p. 255.
263 *Mv.*, iii.59.12-13.
264 Beal, *Legend*, p. 328.
265 *Mv.*, iii.60. 3-5.
266 *DhA.*, p. 54; *ThigA.*, p. 115.
267 *DPN.*, i.p.225.
268 Beal, *Legend*, p. 328.
269 *Mv.*, iii.60.17.
270 *DhA.*, p. 56.
271 *Mv.*, iii. 62.8-9.
272 *Mvg.*, p. 41; *DhA.*, p. 57.
273 *Mv.*, iii.63.12 ff; Beal, *Legend*, p. 330. Tibetan sources inform that Sañjaya was already dead, and he had advised them to go to the Buddha after his death. Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 45.
274 infra, Chapter III.
275 *Mv.*,, I.44. 7-9, cf. *ANA.*, i.p.92.
276 *DPN.*, ii.p.544. cf. *MSV.*, p. 167.
277 cf. *Av.*, p. 252 etc.
278 *Gilgit*, III,3.p.131.
279 *Divy.*, p. 32.
280 *JA.*, i.p. 161.
281 *Mv.*, iii.57.4.
282 *DPN.* II.p. 542.
283 *DN.*, iii.71, etc. cf. *jinamuddikāya lañchanto....SNA.*, I.p. 98. See also, *DPM.*, ii.p.1110.
284 *DhA.*, p. 467.
285 *Mv.*, i.4.15 ff.
286 *DPN. II.* p. 546.
287 *MSV.*, p. 106.
288 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 110.
289 *Mv.*, i.44.7-9.
290 *ANA.*, I.p. 92; *ApA.*, p. 176 ff.
291 Beal, *Legend*, p. 331.
292 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 134; *MSV.* p. 105.
293 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p.526.
294 *Mv.*, iii.47.10 ff.
295 ibid., iii.50.16. Jones is evidently mistaken in his fanciful but forcible interpretation of this word (Jones, III.p. 49), followed by Basak (III.p. 67). The text is plain and too obvious to require any interpretation.
296 *ANA.*, i.p.103.
297 so translated by Beal, *Legend*, p. 316.
298 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 381.
299 *DPN.*, ii.p. 476.
300 Beal, *Legend*, p. 316.
301 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 381.

302 *DPN.*, ii.p.476; Beal, *Legend*, p. 317; *Av. Kalp.*, p. 383. cf. *JA.*, Cowell, v. p. 141 f.
303 She was either from Sāgala (ThigA. p. 54) or from Vaiśāli (*Av. Kalp.*, p. 383).
304 *DPN.* II. p. 478.
305 *Mv.*, iii.50.16.
306 ibid, iii.50.20; SN., ii.p.182; SBE., 49, p. 193; MSV., p. 104.
307 Mv., iii.51.14.
308 ibid., iii.52.1. ff.
309 ibid., iii.53.3 ff.
310 *UdA.*, p. 40.
311 *AN.*, i.p.23.
312 *Divy.*, p. 52 ff.
313 infra., Chapter III.
314 *DhA.*, preserves a story in which a novice of Mahā-kāśyapa is said to have run away after setting fire to his dwelling. *DhA.*, p. 282.
315 *Mv.*, iii.49.13.
316 *Mv.*, iii.56.2.
317 *Mv.*, iii.48. 19.
318 *VinayaA.*, p. 4.
319 DPN., ii.p. 476.
320 *Mv.*, i.65. 3-6.
321 Beal. *Records*, ii.p.142; *Legends*, p. 320; Watters, op.cit., p. 41 ff.
322 *Mv.*, iii.257.17 ff.
323 ibid., iii.258.13; Beal, *Legend*, p. 363.
324 Mv., iii.258.1 ff.
325 ibid., iii.142.17. cf. JA., i.p.87.
326 *Mv.*, iii.143.9.
327 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 56.
328 *JA.*, i.p.87; *Mvg.*, p. 86; *VinayaA.*, p. 182 ff.
329 *Mv.*, iii.263.18.
330 *Mvg.*, i.46.105 (pp.86-87)
331 *SnA.*, p. 298.
332 vide, *JA.*, i.p. 60 where a controversy has been referred to. See also, Thomas, *Life*, p. 51.
333 Beal, *Legend*, p. 216.
334 *Mv.*, ii.159.3.
335 ibid., iii.172.5.
336 infra, Chapter iii.
337 Beal, *Legend*, p. 365.
338 vide, Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 242.
339 Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 32-33.
340 *Mv.*, iii.258.13 ff.
341 ibid., iii.172.8 ff; Beal, *Legend*, p. 361.
342 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 484.
343 *UdA.*, p. 91. According to the Chinese annals, the famous Buddhist teacher Mahādeva also had to undergo a similar delay at his birth.

344 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 160.
345 *VinayaA.*, pp. 67-155.
346 JA., ii.p.275.
347 MNA., ii.2; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 242.
348 SNA., iii.p. 172. cf. *Mv.*, iii.171. 12-13.
349 The expression as recorded in the *JA.* is *rāhu jāto bandhanaṃ jātaṃ* JA., i.p.59. It is generally translated as 'A Fetter is born'. vide, Thomas *History*, p. 136.
350 cf. Uttara, Punarvasu-mitra, etc. *Pūjāvalī*, p. 25 ff.
351 *kāntaṃ yaśodharā sūtaṃ rāhugraste niśākare, Av. Kalp.*, p. 192.
352 *DhA.*, p. 219; Beal, *Records*, ii.p.11 ff.
353 *Mv.*, iii.92.3-6.
354 *JA.*, i.p.62; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 161.
355 *JA.*, i.p.82.
356 *DPN.*, i.p.924.
357 *JA.*, i.pp. 83-84.
358 *DPN.*, i.p.590; ANA., i.p.168.
359 infra, Chapter, III.
360 *Mv.*, iii.180. 18-20.
361 ibid,. iii.181.10.
362 ibid., iii.179.7 ff.
363 ibid, iii.179.9 ff.
364 *DPN.*, i.p. 408.
365 The Pali form is Anuruddha. But in Sanskrit works the form Aniruddha is more frequent. See also, Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p.24.
366 *JM.*, p. 120.
367 *Mv.*, iii.177.7 ff.
368 *ANA.*, i.p.113 ff.
369 *Mv.*, iii.177.12 ff.
370 *Milinda.*, ii.1.5. (*SBE.*, 35, p. 50).
371 *AN.*, i.p.23; *BvA.*, p. 43.
372 *DN.*, ii.p. 120; *Mv.*, i.66.4. The text refers to Mahā-maudgalyāyana also (i.74.20), but this does not seem to be authentic.
373 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 160; Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 8.
374 *Mv.*, iii.176.15.
375 Suprabuddha also became an enemy of the Buddha, and was destined to hell. Milinda., iv.1.18 (SBE., 35, p. 153.
376 Beal, *Records*, II.p.8.
377 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 21; *Av. Kalp.*, p. 179.
378 infra, Chapter III.
379 Mv., III.178.11. cf. *SBE.*, 20.pp.228-33.
380 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 167. According to the Tibetan Vinaya, other princes tactfully obtained Devadatta's consent to renounce homelife, for they wanted to prevent him from becoming the *rājā* after all others left Kapilavastu. Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 54.
381 Mv., III. 176.16.
382 ibid., iii.181.3.

383 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 56.
384 Milinda., iv. 1.28. (*SBE.*, 35.163 ff.)
385 *Av.*, p. 225.
386 Thomas, *Life*, p. 132 ff.
387 *Udāna.*, i.5. as quoted by Thomas, *Life*, p. 132. The Nalanda edition omits Devadatta's name. KN., i.p.66.
388 But the Southern tradition does not also forget to say that he could not attain even the initial stage of spiritual sanctification whereas all his companions succeed.
389 Beal, *Legend*, p. 380.
390 *Mv.*, i.128.14; 131.12-13.
391 *DhA.*, p. 87 ff; *Divy.*, p. 173.
392 The Theravādin tradition depicts him as an unscrupulous character, obsessed with the ambition to become the leader of the *saṃgha*. According to another tradition, he could claim thirty great signs of a *mahāpuruṣa*. Beal, *Records*, ii.p.8.
393 For details, see *Dha.*, pp. 83-93; *VinayaA.*, p. 117;*Av.*, p. 82; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 83 ff.
394 cf. *kokālikhaṇḍotkaṭamorakānāṃ tithyādi nāmnāṃ madadurmadānāṃ. Av. Kalp.*, p. 168.
395 *DhA.*, 89.
396 Thomas, *Life*, p. 138.
397 *DPN.*, i.pp.1110-11.
398 *Divy.*, p. 203.
399 *Mv.*, i.128.12 ff; ii.72.10.
400 Thomas, *Life*, p. 135.
401 *DhA.*, p. 92.
402 *SP.*, p. 158.
403 *Mv.*, iii.176. 14-16.
404 *SNA.*, II.p.71.
405 *Mv.*, iii.176.16. The AbhiS., assigns the reason for this unwillingness as her jealousy against the Buddha. Beal, *Legend*, p. 379.
406 *JA.*, i.p.127; *VinayaA.*, p. 124.
407 *VinayaA.*, p. 88. This has led Eliot to think that Ānanda became a monk after twenty years of Enlightenment. *Hinduism And Buddhism.* I.p.155.
408 *Divy.*, pp. 253-54, p. 256.
409 *Mv.*, iii.176.16.
410 *SNA.*, i.p.134.
411 *ApA.*, p. 106.
412 supra. p. 132.
413 *Mv.*, iii.47. 13-14.
414 *SNA.*, ii.p. 134.
415 infra, Chapter III.
416 *Mv.*, iii.424.4 ff.
417 *ThagA.*, p. 418, 434 ff.
418 *Mv.*, iii.428.10-11.
419 *Mvg.*, i.14.53 p. 34.

420 The account covers four chapters in this work. Beal, *Legend*, pp. 292-310.
421 *Mv.*, iii.428.10 ff. cf. Mvg., p. 26; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 189; Beal, *Legend*, p. 294.
422 *Mv.*, iii.425.10.
423 *Mvg.*, i.14.51 (pp. 32-33).
424 Foucher, *The Life*, p. 161.
425 Beal, *Legend*, p. 304.
427 *KN.*, ii.pp.300.
428 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 40.
429 *Mv.*, iii.432.11 ff; *MSV.*, p. 119; *ThagA.*, p. 418; The *AbhiS.*, however, tells a different story. Beal, *Legend*, pp. 305-09.
430 *Mv.*, ii.241.2.
431 ibid., iii.322.21.
432 *Mvg.*, i.13.36 (p.25).
433 The usual Sanskrit form is Aśvajit. This form is found only in the *Mv.* vide, Edgerton, *BHS*,. ii.p.81. In the Pali tradition his name is the last of the list. *EB.*, vol.i, p.216.
434 *Mv.*, iii.328.20-329.1.
435 *LV.*, p. 180.
436 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 28 ff.
437 Watters, op. cit., ii.p.130.
438 BC., xii.91.
439 *ANA.*, p. 82; *ApA.*, p. 51; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 46; *JA.*, i.p.54. According to Sinhala annals, he was the son of the eldest brahmin among them.
440 Thomas, *Life*, p. 244.
441 Vappa was, according to the *ThagA.* (p. 140), the son of Vāseṭṭha of Kapilavastu. Pūrṇa, Kauṇḍinya's nephew, is also said to have hailed from that region. *ThagA.*, pp. 37-39.
442 *Mv.*, iii.333.19. cf. *Mvg.*, p. 15; Beal; *Legend*, p. 254.
443 *DPN.*, i.p. 43.
444 *JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 193-208.
445 She tries to ascribe the Law of Causation to the credit of Assaji. But notice the last line of the famous formula of Causation : *evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ Mv.*, iii.62.9.
446 supra. pp. 126-7.
447 *Mv.*, iii.347.16 ff.
448 ibid., iii.349.11 ff.
449 Ceylonese chronicles record of a Sinhala king, Siri Samghabodhi, who offered his head under similar circumstances. The story is vividly elaborated in the Pali work known as the *Hattha-vanagalla-vihāra-vaṃsa*.
450 Beal, *Records*,I.p. 124.
451 *Mv.*, iii.354.1. ff.
452 ibid, iii.349. 1-2.
453 *ANA.*, i.p. 84.
454 *Mv.*, iii.402.10 ff; Beal, *Legend*, p. 259 ff; *Av. Kalp.*, p. 373 ff.
455 Her name is not given here. The *Av. Kalp.* calls her Lalitā. According to the Southern tradition, he was the son of famous Sujātā. *Pūjāvalī*, p. 198. See also, *DPN.*, ii.p.685.

456 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 376; Beal, *Legend*, p. 262.
457 *Mvg.*, i.9.25 (p.18), cf. Mtu, III. 407.16.
458 *MSV.*, pp. 114-15.
459 *Mv.*, iii.409.3 ff; *Mvg.*, p. 19 ff.
460 ibid., iii.414.1 ff.
461 *VinayaA.*, p. 155; *MSV.*, pp. 114-15.
462 *Av. Kalp.*, p. 379.
463 *Mv.*, ii.43.2; Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii. p. 294;Av., p. 121; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 18.
464 *Mv.*, ii.42.19.
465 *LV.*, p. 72.
466 *Mv.*, III. 386.8.
467 ibid., iii.386.8 ff.
468 *SNA.*, p. 406; ApA., p. 50.
469 *Mv.*, ii.43,.2-5.
470 *DPN.* II. p. 56.
471 *Mv.*, iii 382.10.
472 ibid., iii.383. 1-5; Beal, *Legend*, p. 276.
473 *Mv.*, iii.383. 12-13.
474 Beal, *Legend*, p. 280.
475 *Mv.*, iii. 394.11 ff; 278.19 ff.
476 *SBE.*, 5, pp. 18, 19 and 70-74.
477 *SBE.*, 6, pp. 32, 182, 232, etc.
478 *SBE.*, 25, pp. 121, 141, etc.
479 vide, Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 93; *ERE.*, vol. iv, p. 829 ff.
480 Law, *Heaven And Hell*, pp. 115-124.
481 *Mv.*, ii.81.8-9.
482 ibid., i.61.4. This seems to be earlier classification. Some other references indicate acquaintance with the idea of four *upāyas*.
483 *Mv.*, i.9. 8-9. cf. JP., ii.p. 56.
484 *Mv.*, i.5.4.
485 The *Mv.* definition (i.17. 6-7) is not much convincing. The Pali explanation seems more reasonable in this regard. vide, *ERE.*, vol. iv. p. 830.
486 *Mv.*, i.16.10 ff. cf. JP., ii.p.66.
487 *Mv.*, i.5. 7-8; Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 180.
488 *Mv.*, i.17.13.
489 ibid., i.5.7, 12.5, 17.8 ff.
490 ibid., i.5.10, 13.11 14.1 ff.
491 ibid., i.21.1. ff.
492 ibid., i.5. 13-6.3.
493 *JA.*, Fausboll, v. p. 270.
494 *Mv.*, i.25.7.
495 ibid., i.25.11 ff.
496 ibid., i.26. 11-12.
497 *Divy.*, p. 41; Av., p. 2, *etc*, AbhidhK., iii.58.
498 vide, *ERE.*, vol. iv, p. 475.
499 *E.B.*, vol. ii. p. 452.

500 *DPN.*, i.p.199; *EB.*, vol. ii. pp. 452-53.
501 *MN.*, iii. p. 237.
502 *MNA.*, iii. 4; *Mv.*, i.103.9.
503 vide, *E.B.*, ii. p. 452.
504 *MN.*, iii.p.237; *AbhidhK.*, iii. 58.
505 *Mv.*, i.6.8. cf. *DPN.*, i.p. 199
506 *ERE.*, vol.iv, p. 831.
507 *MNA.*, iii.p. 956.
508 *DhA.*, p. 78.
509 *Mv.*, i.26.14 ff. cf. *AbhidhK.*, iii. 58.
510 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 27.
511 *EB.*, ii. p. 452.
512 Law, *Heaven And Hell*, p. 94.
513 *ERE.*, vol. iv, p. 830. cf. *Visuddhi.*, pp. 413.
514 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 27; *AbhidhK.*, ii. 58.
515 For details, see *ERE.*, vol.iv, p. 831.
516 ibid., p. 831.
517 *Mv.*, i.6.16 ff.
518 ibid., i.7. 2-3.
519 *MN.*, iii.p. 30; *AbhidhK.*, iii.59.
520 *Mv.*, i.12.3. cf. *MNA.*, iii.p. 957.
521 *SBE.*, 35. pp. 103-106.
522 *ANA.*, i.p.374; *AbhidhK.*, iii.59.
523 *Mv.*, ii.324.11, 301.7.
524 *ANA.*, i.p. 374.
525 *Diwy.*, p. 33, 82, *etc*; Av., pp. 34, 37, *etc.*
526 *SBE.*, 49, pp. 68, 99, 198, *etc.*
527 Mv., iii. 369. 18-21.
528 ibid., i.27.5. cf. *MN.*, iii.p. 236
529 *Mv.*, i.27.6 ff.
530 The *bodhisattva* is not, dogmatically, to be born in great hells, among the *asuras* or in the sphere of ghosts.
531 Cf. *bodhisatto tathārūpaṃ kammaṃ paṭicca kukkura-yoniyaṃ nibbattitvā...JA.*, i.p.155.
532 *Mv.*, i.28.6.
533 ibid., i.28. 7-9.
534 *PvA.*, pp. 36, 79, 121, *etc.*
535 *MSṬ.*, p. 41.
536 *Mv.*, i.29. 8-9.
537 ibid., i.29. 8-9.
538 Eliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, i.p. 339.
539 *Mv.*, i.29. 15-16.
540 vide, Eliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, i.p. 338 ff.
541 *Mv.*, i.30.1 ff.
542 For details, see *ERE.*, vol. iv, pp. 832-33; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 26 ff; Lamotte, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
543 *Mv.*, i.159.6, 209.6; ii.1.13, 2.8, 314.12, etc.

544. The text has *ārūpyāni* (ii.123.18), but it is an error for *sārūpyāni*. vide, Edgerton, *BHS.*, II.p. 104. Notice also Asita's silence in this regard (ii. 41.3 ff). The *JA.* (i.p. 53) holds that Asita saw that he was to be reborn in the *arūpa* world.

545 *Mv.*, i.30.16, 31.17, 33.3 ff; ii.138.13, etc.

546 *MN.*, iii.100; *KV.*, pp. 189-90; *Mvy.*, 3075; *Dharm.*, 127; *Av.*, p. 2, *etc.*

547 *Mv.*, i.41.11, 15, 229.16, 240.4; ii.138.12 ff., 348.16.

548 vide, Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 270.

549 *Mv.*, ii.138.12 ff; iii.273.12.

550 ibid., i.245. 8-9.

551 ibid., iii. 306.6 ff.

552 ibid., iii. 306.9 f.

553 *MSV.*, p. 154.

554 *DhA.*, p. 377.

555 Law, *Heaven And Hell*, p. 87.

556 *Mv.*, ii.191.1.ff.

557 ibid., i. 32.4-5.

558 *DPN.*, i.p.214.

559 *Mv.*, ii.359.20. cf. *JM.*, p. 6.

560 vide, Eliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, vol. I. p. 59.

561 *Mv.*, ii.274: 13.

562 *DPN.*, II.p. 122.

563 *Mv.*, ii. 11.1 passim.

564 ibid., iii. 367.2.

565 ibid., iii. 366.17. Dr Law thinks this to be a modification of Sujampati. vide, *Heaven And Hell*, p. 13. But the word *śacīpati* is found in Vedic authorities as a separate epithet of Indra. See also, MV., *Dictionary*, p. 1048.

566 *Mv.*, iii.266. 18 ff; *DPN.*, ii. p. 957.

567 *ERE.*, vol. iv. p. 690.

568 *EB.*, vol.ii.p.289.

569 *Mv.*, i.265.4; ii. 319.1.

570 ibid., iii.423. 15-17.

571 ibid. iii. 200.1 ff.

572 DhA., pp. 258.262.

573 *Mv.*, i.32. 11.

574 ibid., ii.52.11, 275.8, 274.19; 52.13.

575 ibid., ii.11.1ff; iii. 315.7.

576 ibid., i.30. 17, 31, 18.

577 ibid.

578 ibid., i. 31. 3 ff.

579 ibid., i. 224.21 ff; ii.28.1 ff.

580 ibid., *ERE.*, vol. iv. pp. 832-33

581 *Mv.*, i.212. 16-17; ii.16.4-5; iii. 335. 2-3.

582 ibid., ii. 360.11 ff.

583 ibid., ii.314.7-10, 348.18 ff; iii.139.4.

584 ibid., i.35.3.

585 ibid., i.224.1 ff; ii.27.1 ff.

586 Sometimes referred to as *āvāsa-suddha*. ii.346.15. Aśvaghoṣa calls them Śuddhādhivāsa. *BC.*, i.20; iii.26, etc.
587 Lamotte, op.cit., p. 762.
588 *Mv.*, i.35. 10.
589 ibid., ii.25.18.
590 ibid., i.265. 14-15.
591 vide, Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 93-94.
592 *Mv.*, i.294.11 ff; *KN.*, i.p. 6.
593 On the contrary, it should be pointed out, the Buddha has categorically demonstrated the utter futility of such propitiatory performances on the basis that gods are not capable of helping people. Cf. *SN.*, I. pp. 220-22.
594 *DN.*, iii. p. 148.
595 *Mv.*, iii. 402. 6-9. cf. *Divy.*, p. 1.
596 *Mv.*, i. 57. 5.
597 vide, Eliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, i. p. 331; Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 214.
598 *Mv.*, iii. 364. 9. Cf. *DN.*, III. p. 24. The idea that sages can instruct gods is traceable in the Upaniṣads also. vide, *SBE.*, 41. p. 106; Eliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, I. p. 330.
599 *SN.*, i. p. 227, etc. The *Mv.* refers to the Śakra-praśna (Pali. Sakka pañha) sūtra. i.350.8.
600 *Mvg.*, p. 28 ff.
601 DPN., ii. p. 1116.
602 VinayaA., p. 153.
603 *Mv.*, i.31.10.
604 ibid., i. 297. 19 ff.
605 ibid., ii. 376.15.
606 *Vv.*, i.35, etc. vide, Law, *Heaven And Hell*, p. 24.
607 *Mv.*, i.31.13.
608 ibid., i. 31. 12, 32.18, etc. See also, Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 155.
609 *Mv.*, i.30.7. cf. *MSV.*, p. 60.
610 *Mv.*, i.30. 7-8.
611 Ling, *Buddhism And The Mythology of Evil*, p. 16.
612 *Mv.*, iii.289.1 ff; iii.29.11; ii.77.17.
613 ibid., iii.68.12.
614 ibid., I.30.2.
615 ibid., ii.91.13.
616 *SBE.*, 20. p. 302, 305.
617 *SBE.*, 12.p. 110.
618 *DPN.*, i.p.214.
619 *Mv.*, i.30. 5-6.
620 *DNA.*, ii.p. 531.
621 *Mv.*, i.30.4.
622 *DPN.*, i.p.214.
623 ibid., i.p. 215; *EB.*, II. p. 289; *ERE.*, vol. ii. p. 804.
624 *EB.*, vol. ii.p. 289. The text mentions the names of some asura chiefs, i.e. Rāhu, Vemacitti, and Mucalinda (III. 138. 1-2).

625 ibid.
626 *Mv.*, i.30.5.
627 ibid., iii.138.1 ff.
628 *Pūjāvalī*, p. 326.
629 *Mv.*, ii.179.20.
630 ibid., II.11.14, 181.18.
631 ibid., ii.178.2 ff.
632 ibid., II. 179.8.
633 *Mvg.*, i.54. p. 91.
634 *Mv.*, II.188. 4-5.
635 *Mvg.*, p. 91. One of the formal questions asked from the candidates for higher ordination concerns this.
636 *Mv.*, ii. 177.16.
637 ibid., ii.186.7 ff.
638 *IA.*, xviii, 1936-37. *SNA.*, iii.p. 122.
639 *Mv.*, iii.300.16 ff.
640 *SNA.*, i.pp. 30-31.
641 *DN.*, iii.p. 150.
642 *Mv.*, ii.11.14.
643 ibid., i.264.18.
644 *DN.*, ii.p.129.
645 DPN., ii.pp. 30-31.
646 *Mv.*, ii.96.20.
647 ibid., ii.103.3.
648 *Divy.*, p. 292; *MSV.*, p. 87.
649 *ThagA.*, p. 179.
650 This is not quite explicit in the *Mv.*, But that a female spirit is seen worrying about her negligence in her previous life to be generous indicates the direction where the wind blows. Cf. *Mv.*, I.29. 11-12.
651 *AbhidhK.*, iii.95.
652 *Mv.*, II.13.9 ff.
653 ibid., ii. 323.22-324.2; *SNA.*, iii. p. 133.
654 *Mv.*, i.108.9 ff.
655 *DN.*, III.p.48.
656 *MNA.*, ii.3.
657 *Mv.*, I.108. 11-12.
658 *DPN.*, i.p. 832.
659 ibid, i.108. 13-16.
660 *DNA.*, ii.p. 436; *MSV.*, pp. 28-29.
661 *Mv.*, i.109. 9-10.
662 ibid., i.107.14.
663 *BvA.*, pp. 112-13.
664 *Mv.*, i.49.3, passim. Dharmarājā is an epithet for the Buddha also.
665 *DN.*, i.pp.46.61.
666 *Mv.*, i.49.1 ff, 59.3, etc.,
667 For different opinions regarding the origin and interpretation of Māra, vide, *ERE.*, vol.viii.p. 406; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp.53-58; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 306-15; Ling, op. cit., pp. 43-68.

668 *ERE.*, vol. viii.p. 406.
669 Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 258.
670 Ling, op. cit., p. 44 ff.
671 Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 156.
672 *JA.*, i.p.61.
673 *Mv.*, ii.158.14 ff.
674 ibid., ii.241.5 ff.
675 ibid., ii.238.3 ff; Csoma, *Life*, p. 39.
676 *Mv.*, ii.22.2 ff; i.220.1 ff.
677 ibid., ii.237.19; 323.1 ff.
678 ibid., ii.237.19-21.
679 Ling, op. cit., p. 19.
680 *Mv.*, ii.238.18.
681 ibid., ii.316.3 ff.
682 ibid., ii.239.18, 408.1, etc.
683 Their names are given in variant forms: Rati, Prītī, Tṛṣṇā, BC., xii.3; Ratī, Aratī, Tṛṣṇā, LV., p. 275; Tantrī, Āratī, Ratī, *Mv.*, iii.286.12 ff.
684 *Mv.*, i.41.12.
685 *DPN.* II. p. 611.
686 *Mv.*, iii.273.2, 281.7 ff. cf. Dharm., 80; Śikṣ., p. 109.
687 supra. p. 108 ff.
688 *SN.* I. p. 105.
689 *Mv.*, ii.327.17 ff.
690 ibid., ii.319.17 ff.
691 ibid., ii.341.3.
692 *MndA.*, pp. 165-66.
693 *Mv.*, i.230. 11-12.
694 ibid., ii.319.22-343.16, 404.20 ff.
695 ibid., ii.314. 17-315.14.
696 The text represents the *bodhisattva* also resorting to the same terms.
697 *Mv.*, i.270.12 ff; iii.416.12.

CHAPTER III

1 Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 87; Thomas, *Life*, p. 1; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 78; Eliot, *Hinduism And Buddhism*, i.p. 171. ff.
2 *BST.* No. 17.p. 100. See also, N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 51 where Pali and Sanskrit references to this point are given.
3 *pītipāmojja-jananaṃ soka-salla-vinodanaṃ,*
sabba-sampatti-paṭilābhaṃ cittīkatvā suṇātha me Bv., i.80.
4 *JRAS.*, 1856, p. 248. vide, Thomas, *Life*, Intro., xvi.
5 See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 71 ff. where the main conclusions of Senart are given and refuted.
6 Thomas, *Life*, pp. 217-18.
7 ibid., p. 28.
8 Saṅgharakṣita, *Survey*, p. 10.
9 Foucher, *The Buddha*, Intro., i.

10 supra, Chapter XI.

11 supra, Chapter I.

12 *Mv.*, i.197.7 ff., i.4.2-3; *LV.*, p. 7; *BC.*, i.19; *MN.*, iii.

13 *Mv.*, i.337.14, 18; *LV.*, p. 8.

14 *Bv.*, i.66.

15 Chinese. Hou-ming. Beal restores the name as Prabhāpāla. *Legend*, p. 24.

16 *Mv.*, i.3.16 ff. Kāśyapa the Buddha had on his departure appointed him as the preacher to gods. Vide, Csoma, *Life*, p. 25.

17 The scene is found depicted among sculptures at Amaravati. vide, *Gautama Buddha, 25th Centenary Volume*, p. 8.

18 *JA.*, i.p. 47.

19 *Mv.*, i. 142. 16-17.

20 Although the developed idea of a Primordial Buddha is of late origin, it is not very difficult to trace the evolution of the concept in early Buddhism. vide, *EB.*, i. pp. 213-19.

21 *Mv.*, i.61. 3-6.

22 The *AbhiS.*, admits that they were manifest on the *bodhisattva's* body. Beal, *Legend*, p. 24.

23 *Mv.*, i.366.9; *LV.*, p. 11.

24 *Mv.*, i.357.5.

25 ibid., i.197.10 ff; ii.1.1 ff; *LV.*, p. 14.

26 *JA.*, i.p.48. The *Milinda.* (iv.4.11) speaks of eight *vilokanas*, and tries to clarify the apparent paradox that the bodhisattva made these observations while everything had been pre-destined. *SBE.*, 35.p. 271.

27 *Mv.*, i.2.20 ff.

28 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 19 ff.

29 *MNA.*, III. p. 917.

30 *Mv.*, iii.317. 15-18. cf. *Mvg.*, i.5.7. p. 11.

31 Tibetan sources inform that the *bodhisattva* assured gods, who entreated not to be born in India as there were so many heretical teachers, that he would vanquish them all. Csoma, *Life*, p. 26.

32 Samādh. mentions a Buddha born when the human life-span was limited to seven days. *BST.*, No. 2, p. 105. For the Theravāda opinion, see Bigandet, *Gaudama*, pp. 24-25.

33 *Mv.*, ii.1. 4-5; *LV.*, p. 14; *JA.*, i.p. 48.

34 Later Mahāyāna sūtras do not insist on this point.

35 *Mv.*, i.197.13 ff; ii. 1.6 ff; Beal, *Legend*, pp. 31-32; *LV.* (p. 16 ff.) gives a list of sixty-four merits, whereas the Pali tradition makes no mention of them at all.

36 According to the *LV.*, gods help him in the task of choosing a suitable family. The *AbhiS.* does not refer to *vilokanas*.

37 This might be suggesting that Śuddhodana had more than one wife.

38 *BvA*, p. 46; Beal, *Legend*, p. 32.

39 *Mv.*, ii.3.1 ff. *LV.* (p. 20) adds that she had been his mother for five hundred births.

40 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 14.

41 Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 13.

42 Thomas, *Life*, p. 28. Senart interprets Māyā as 'morning vapour, which vanishes before the rays of the sun'. vide, Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 93.

43 *SBE.*, xx.p. 322, 380.

44 *Mv.*, iii.109. 11-12.

45 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 91.

46 *Mv.*, ii.2.9. Udayana is said to have born on the day on which the *bodhisattva* was born, vide, Watters, op. cit., vol. I.p. 368.

47 *Mv.*, II.2.13. Ghoṣila (Pali. Ghosita) was a leading supporter of Buddhism in Kauśāmbī. *DhA.*, pp. 105-17.

48 Ānanda was also in Tuṣita with the *bodhisattva*, and subsequently descended to the earth as the son of Amitodana. *SNA.*, II. p. 71.

49 *Mv.*, II.6.10.

50 *LV.*, p. 30.

51 *JA.*, p. 49; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 15.

52 *Mv.*, ii.6.2 ff.

53 ibid., ii.5.5; *LV.*, p. 36.

54 *Mv.*, ii.6.18. Gandhāra sculptures have shown the queen lying on her left side. Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 25.

55 The Mongolian tradition is said to have stressed on Māyā's virginity. Csoma, *Life*, p. 37; *JAS.*, 1874. p. 384. But E.J. Thomas refutes this reference. *Life*, pp. 237-38.

56 *LV.*, p. 18.

57 *ERE.*, vol. ii. p. 741.

58 Thomas, *Life*, p. 36.

59 *Mv.*, i.147. 6-7.

60 ibid., ii. 15. 10-11.

61 *ERE.*, ii. p. 881 ff.

62 Foucher, *The Buddha*, Intro., ix.

63 *Mv.*, iii. 117.7, 14, etc. See also, Thomas, History, p. 135 f.

64 Sir John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art Of Gandhāra*, p. 74, plate 65.

65 *Mv.*, i. 142. 5-6.

66 *Av.*, p. 13, etc.

67 According to *ERE.*, II. p.739 the *AbhiS.* makes the bodhisattva wait till the parents' union takes place. In Beal's translation, however, there is no reference to this effect. Vide, Beal, *Legend*, p. 36.

68 supra, Chapter I.

69 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 23. For the traditional explanation as to why the *bodhisattva* was not reborn by a spontaneous birth, vide, *AbhidhK.*, III.9.

70 *Mv.*, ii.8.13.

71 ibid., ii.9.20, 22.

72 *LV.*, p. 28.

73 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 23.

74 The text holds that he had been consecrated as the *yuvarāja* by his predecessor, *Kāśyapa the Buddha.*, *Mv.* i.2.8.

75 ibid., ii.8.17-18. According to the Tibetan annals, Māyā had four dreams. Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 15.

76 *JA.*, i.p.49.
77 *LV.*, p. 47 f.
78 *Mv.*, ii.16. 13-17.
79 *LV.*, pp. 49-52.
80 *BC.*, i.4.
81 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 24.
82 *Mv.*, i. 98.12; ii. 14.5-8.
cf. *vāraṇatvam upagamya pāṇḍuraṃ ṣaḍviṣāṇa-ruciraṃ catuṣkramam/ mātṛgarbhaśayanaṃ viveśa samprajānan ṛṣir āśramaṃ yathā//*
—Dharmasūtra Vibhāṣya, quoted in the *Abhidhk.*, iii.13.
83 *Mv.*, ii.8.16. cf. *paviṭṭha-sadiso, JA.*, i.p.49.
84 Beal, *Legend*, p. 35.
85 *nahy etat sūtram, na vinayaḥ, nābhidharmaḥ, kāvyam etat. AbhidhK.*, iii.13.
86 *Mv.*, ii.8.19 ff.
87 *JA.*, i.p.48; Hardy, Manual, p. 141.
88 *LV.*, p. 43.
89 Beal, *Legend*, p. 35.
90 *Mv.*, ii.9. 6 ff.
91 *JA.*, i.p.50; *Bv.*, i.35, 71.
92 *JA.*, i.p.49f; Hardy, Manual, p. 143.
93 *LV.*, pp. 28-29.
94 Mv., ii.10.20-21.
95 Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 32.
96 *MNA.*, III, p. 921.
97 *JA.*, i.p.49; Beal, *Legend*, p. 38.
98 *Mv.*, ii.13.17 ff.
99 supra, Chapter II.
100 Foucher, *The Buddha*, pp. 46-49.
101 supra, Chapter II.
102 *LV.*, p. 50.
103 *Mv.*, ii.10. 7-8.
104 ibid, i.144.2 ff; ii.16.13.
105 ibid., ii.9.20; *AbhiḍhK.*, III.17.
106 *JA.*, i.p.50.
107 *Mv.*, i.356. 5-7; ii.18.7.
108 *LV.*, p. 18; Beal, *Legend*, p.23.
109 *DPN.* II. p. 1259. Kosambi, *Bhagavān Buddha*, p. 89.
110 *Mv.*, ii. 18. 7-8.
111 *JA.*, i.p. 51.
112 *Mv.*, i. 148.7.
113 *LV.*, p. 58 ff.
114 *JA.*, i.p.51.
115 cf. *bodhisattvasya jananakālaṃ jñātvā..LV.*, p. 58.
116 *Mv.*, i.149.11; ii.19.15; *LV.*, p. 61.
117 Kosambi thinks that Māyā was not in a position to go home in such circumstances. vide, *Bhagavān Buddha*, p. 89. But notice *Mv.*, ii.19.17.
118 *Mv.*, II.25.16.

119 Beal, *Records*, II.p.24.
120 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 14.
121 Watters, op.cit., vol.ii.p.15; Beal, *Records*, ii.p.23.
122 Thomas, *Life*, p.18.note 3.
123 According to Burmese records, Mahā-prajāpatī Gotamī was present at the scene. Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 35.
124 *Mv.*, i.149.15; ii.19.17, 22.8.
125 *JA.*, i.p.51; Hardy, Manual, p. 145.
126 *LV.*, p. 61.
127 *Divy.*, p. 248.
128 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 30.
129 *BC.*, i.8-10.
130 *Mv.*, i.217.16.
131 *MNA.*, i.p.11.
132 *vṛkṣo mahīruhaḥ śākhī viṭapī pādapaś taruḥ,*
anokahaḥ kuṭaḥ sālaḥ palāśī drudrumāgamaḥ. Amarakośa, ii.4.5.
Beal gives the name as *palāśa*. *Legend*, p. 43.
133 *BvA.*, p. 65.
134 Thomas, *Life*, p. 36.
135 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 33.
136 *MN.*, iii.p.187. See also, *JA.*, i.p.51.
137 *LV.*, p. 61.
138 *BC*, i.27.
139 *Mv.*, ii.20.18 ff.
140 ibid., ii.21. 1-4.
141 ibid., ii.19. 1-20.8.
142 ibid., ii.20.11; *LV.*, p. 61; *BC.*, i.10.
143 *MNA.*, iii.p. 924.
144 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 146.
145 *BC.*, i.9.
146 Beal, *Legend*, p.42.
147 Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, p. 13.
148 25th Centenary Volume, p. 17.
149 Thomas, *Life*, p.27.
150 *Mv.*, i.150.6; ii.20.11 ff.
151 ibid, ii.24.12-13.
152 *JA.*, i.p.51; *LV.* p. 63.
153 Even the Pali commentaries do not seem to have been impressed with the idea. See, *ApA.*, p. 48. According to the *BvA.*, p. 159, lotuses emerged from the earth to receive the Buddha's feet for the first time only when he rose up after spending the seven weeks in the vicinity of the Enlightenment.
154 *LV.*, p. 61; Beal, *Legend*, p. 44; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 145; *Pūjāvalī*, p. 120.
155 Sir John Marshall, *Buddhist Arts in Gandhāra*, p. 43, plate 34.
156 *MN.*, iii.p. 188; *JA.*, i.p.52.
157 *Mv.*, ii.21.21-22.4.
158 ibid., II.24.7-8.
159 ibid., ii.23.4-7; *LV.*, p. 61; *JA.*, i.p.51.

160 *LV.*, pp. 61-62; According to the *AbhiS.*, the *bodhisattva* himself took the bath. Beal, *Legend*, p. 43.

161 Sir John Marshall, *Buddhist Art in Gandhāra*, p. 83.

162 Mv., ii.24. 1-2.

163 supra, Chapter II.

164 *Mv.*, ii.23.10-11.

165 Yaśodharā is also said to have conceived the same night as the *bodhisattva*. Thus she also took ten months' period of gestation. Begandet, *Gaudama*, p. 28.

166 *Mv.*, ii.25. 14-15. See also, Beal, *Legend*, p. 53.

167 *JA.*, i.p.52; *ApA.*, p. 49; *ThagA.*, p. 498.

168 Csoma, *Life*, p. 27; Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 16-17.

169 *Mv.*, ii.2. 1-2; *Udāna.*, v.2.

170 *Mv.*, ii.3.6 ff.

171 *JA.*, i.p.50.

172 *UdA.*, p. 186; *MNA.*, iii.p. 918.

173 Beal, *Legend*, p. 36.

174 *LV.*, p. 70.

175 Beal, *Legend*, p. 63.

176 vide, Ven. Pandit K. Śrī Dharmaśrī, *Buddhacarita*, I. Intro., viii-ix.

177 *Mv.*, ii.20.14 ff; *BC.*, i.9.

178 ibid, II.20. 16-17; i.150. 5-6.

179 *LV.*, p. 70; JA., i.p. 50.

180 *LV.*, p. 69.

181 *JA.*, i.p.52; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 146; *BC.*, i.88.

182 *Mv.*, ii.25.17 ff; Beal, *Legend*, p. 51.

183 *Mv.*, ii.26.3 ff; *Divy.*, p. 391 says it was the *yakṣa* Śākyavardhana. Beal restores the Chinese Tsang-chang as Dīrghavardhana. *Legend*, p. 52.

184 cf. *LV.*, p. 84 ff.

185 The Gospel of Matthew contains a similar incident ascribed to the infancy of Christ. vide, Foucher, *The Buddha*, pp. 38-39.

186 *Mv.*, ii.26. 8-9.

187 Rockhill, *Buddha*. 54. p. 17.

188 *JA.*, i. p. 54.

189 cf. *Mv.*, I.227. 4-5.

190 Also called Siddhārtha, which seems to have been more commonly known. Pali, Siddhattha; Sinhala, Siduhat; Burmese, Theiddat; Tibetan, Thans-chad-grub-pa; Chinese, Sheng-li.

191 *Mv.*, ii.26.14-15; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 17; Beal, *Legend*, p. 54.

192 *LV.*, p. 69.

193 *Studies On Buddhism*, p. 1.

194 Thomas, *Life.*, p. 44.

195 Mahāvīra's father was called Siddhārtha. *SBE.*, 22.x. The name is found in the lists of previous Buddhas also.

196 *Mv.*, II.47.12; III. 115.2, etc.

197 cf. *dīpaṃ ca leṇaṃ ca parāyanaṃ ca,*
dīpaṃkaro nāma abhūṣi śāstā. ibid., i.242. 1-2.

198 *sabbalokattha-siddhikaratthā siddhattho'ti nāmam akaṃsu. ApA.*, p. 51.
evaṃvidhā rājakulasya sampat sarvārthasiddhiś ca yato babhūva|
tato nṛpas tasya sutasya nāma sarvārthasiddho'yam iti pracakre|| BC., ii.17
199 *Mv.*, i.1.7, passim.
200 Shastri, *Outline*, p. 4.
201 Beal, *Legend*, p. 152.
202 *Mv.*, II.27.3 ff.
203 ibid., i.366. 9-11.
204 ibid., ii.37. 11-13. The Pali tradition speaks of him by the names : Asita, Kāla-devala, Kaṇhasiri, and Siri-kaṇha. *DPN.*, i.p.210.
205 *Mv.*, ii.30.7.
206 ibid, ii.30. 9-10. *Av. Kalp.* (p. 177) places his hermitage in the mountain of Kiṣkindhā.
207 *JA.*, i.p.52; *KN.*, i. p. 374; *AbhiS.* also admits that he happened to be in heaven at the time of the happy occurrence. Beal, *Legend*, p. 56.
208 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 147.
209 *MNA.*, II.p.11.
210 According to some accounts, Kāladevala was the first person to bring Śuddhodana the good news of the son's birth. Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 41.
211 *Mv.*, II. 31.9.
212 ibid., ii.37. 13-14.
213 The *LV.* authors think that the prince arose from meditation specially for the sake of the sage. *LV.*, p. 83.
214 *SBE.*, 36. p. 143.
215 Some say that Māyā herself brought the baby, vide, Beal, *Legend*, p. 56.
216 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 147.
217 *JA.*, I.p. 53; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 148.
218 Thomas, *Life*, p. 43.
219 *Mv.*, II. 32.13.
220 Thomas, *Life*, p. 43. See also, Müir's article 'Asita And Buddha', *IA.*, 1878. p. 232.
221 Beal, *Legend*, pp. ix-x.
222 Thomas, *Life*, p. 43.
223 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 46.
224 They are too well-known to be illustrated. For details, see *Mv.*, I. 226.16 ff; ii.43. 9-44.14; *Dharm., BST.*, No. 17. p. 334; *MN.*, ii.136; *DN.*, ii.17; *ERE.*, vol. II.p. 742 ff; *JRAS.*, 1928. p. 815 ff.
225 Prof. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya drew my attention to the classical Hindi work *Pṛthivi-rāja-rāso* where a reference to the thirty-two physical characteristics is found. *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* contains details of the signs of the Great Man (*mahā-puruṣa*). Senart, *Essai sur la Legende du Bouddha*, p. 111, Teste, Watters, op.cit., vol.i.p. 196.
226 *Mv.*, iii.437. 2-3. cf. *Sn.*, iii.7.
227 See also, *DPN.*, ii.p. 534.
228 Thomas, *Life*, p. 225.
229 *JRAS.*, 1925, p. 831.

230 *JRAS.*, 1947. p. 15.
231 Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 58.
232 *ANA.*, p. 370; *MNA.*, ii.5.1
233 *ERE.*, vol. ii. p. 742.
234 *Mv.*, ii.197.5.
235 Milinda., III 6.3. *SBE.*, 35. p. 117.
236 *Mv.*, ii.44.19 ff.
237 ibid., i.67. 5-9.
238 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 148.
239 *ERE.*, vol. ii. p. 742.
240 *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 815-45.
241 Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 35.
242 Mv., i.356. 6-7. *AbhiS.* speaks of *eight* sisters among whom Prajāpati was the youngest. Beal, *Legend*, p. 23.
243 Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 14-15.
244 *LV.*, p. 72.
245 *Mvg.*, p. 85.
246 Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 149-50.
247 *LV.*, p. 71.
248 Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 20-21.
249 ibid., p. 21; Beal, *Legend*, p. 72.
250 *LV.*, pp. 85-86; Beal, *Legend*, pp. 67-70.
251 Foucher, *The Buddha*, pp. 53-56.
252 Thomas, *Life*, p. 46.
253 *Mv.*, ii.45. 6-8.
254 ibid., ii.45. 9-12.
255 *LV.*, p. 90.
256 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 150; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 50.
257 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 22 ff.
258 *BC.*, v. 3.
259 In the seventh century A.D., Hieuen Tsiang was led to a place, forty li to the north-east of Kapilavastu, where the historical *jambu* tree was supposed to have existed. Beal, *Records*, II. p. 19; Watters, op.cit., II.p.7.
260 cf. *pitu-sakkassa kammante...MN.*, I.p. 305.
261 *Mv.*, ii.45.14. The Theravāda tradition holds that he attained to all the four *dhyānas* on the same occasion. Milinda., IV. 8.23. *SBE.*, 36. p. 141.
262 *LV.*, p. 90.
263 *BC.*, v. 6.
264 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 23. See also, Csoma, *Life*, p. 29; *Av., Kalp.*, i.p. 182.
265 In addition to all this, according to the *AbhiS.*, he pitied the insects coming forth from the ground and being devoured by birds.
266 Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 95.
267 *Mv.*, ii.47.6.
268 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 150. But the *JA.*, I. p. 56 states that he was sitting crosslegged on the couch.
269 *Mv.*, ii.45. 14-46.18; *LV.*, p. 90 ff. vide, Thomas, *Life*, pp. 44-46.
270 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 151; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 51.

271 *Mv.*, ii.47.20.

272 Some critics are inclined to oppose this view, vide, Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 153.

273 *tasmāt pramāṇaṃ na vayo na vaṃśaḥ,*
kaścit kvacit śreṣṭham upaiti loke. BC.,i.46

274 It may be interesting to mention here that a novice, initiated into the Buddhist Order, is first saluted by his parents and other relatives.

275 *Mv.*, iii. 115. 15-18.

276 ibid., ii. 48. 1-2.

277 ibid., ii.12.21-13.1.

278 ibid., ii.48.1 ff., 115.8 ff.

279 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 151.

280 *DN.*, ii.21.

281 *Mv.*, i.27.8 ff.

282 *LV.*, p. 135.

283 *BC.*, ii.28.

284 Windisch, *Māra Und Buddha*, p. 26. Teste, Jones, iii.p. 401.

285 Thomas, *Life*, p. 47.

286 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 100.

287 *Mv.* always calls him *rājā* or *mahārājā*.

288 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 99.

289 Watters, op. cit., ii. p.3.

290 vide, Thomas, *Life*, pp. 20-21.

291 Kosambi, *Bhagavān Buddha*, p. 169.

292 Mv., ii. 199. 14-17.

293 *SN.* III. 140.

294 See also *BHS.*, II. p. 294.

295 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 114. Purāṇas mention Prasenajit's name in the pedigree of Śuddhodana. vide, Thomas, *Life*, p. 20. note. 1.

296 See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 98.

297 Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 69.

298 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 9 ff.

299 infra, Chapter IV.

300 *LV.*, p. 96.

301 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 101.

302 *Mv.*, ii.48.4 ff.

303 *LV.*, p. 99.

304 Beal, *Legend*, p. 80.

305 *Mv.*, ii.72. 19-73.3; Jones, ii.p. 70.

306 *LV.*, p. 100.

307 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 61.

308 *Mv.*, ii.73.5.

309 *LV.*, p. 100.

310 Beal, *Legend*, pp. 97-98.

311 *DPN.* II. p. 1220.

312 The Pali tradition maintains that Suppabuddha's wife was Amitā, Śuddhodana's sister.

313 *AbhiS.* corrobarates the *Mv.* Beal, *Legend* p. 88f.

314 Rockhill, *Buddha* p. 20. note 2; Thomas, *Life*, p. 49.
315 *DPN.*, ii. p. 742.
316 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 101. note 1.
317 Thomas, *Life*, p. 49.
318 Beal, *Legend*, p. 101 note 1.
319 Beal *Legend*, p. 101. Their names are : Yaśodharā, Manodarā, and Gotamī.
320 Although monogamy was the general rule among the Śākyans, yet polygamy was not ruled out altogether.
321 *ThigA.*, p. 9.
322 Is this name to be identified with Bhaddā-kaccānā, the mother of Rāhulabhadra ?
323 *Mv.*, ii. 76.2 ff.
324 ibid., ii.69. 1-3.
325 Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 106-07. The Mongolian tradition considers Devadatta to be the uncle of the *bodhisattva*. *JAs.*, 1824, p. 22.
327 *SNA. II.* p. 264.
328 Vide, Thomas, *Life*, p. 49.
329 *Mv.*, ii.73.8 ff; Beal, *Legend*, p. 84.
330 *Mv.*, ii. 73.11-12.
331 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 152.
332 ibid, p. 152.
333 *LV.*, p. 100
334 *LV*, p. 87.
335 *SBE.*, 36., p. 45.
336 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 119.
337 Foucher, *The Buddha*, pp. 53-56.
338 *BC.*, ii. 24.
339 *Divy.*, p. 248; Beal, *Records*, p. 24.
340 *25th Centenary Volume*, p. 9.
341 *JA.*, i.p. 57.
342 Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 52.
343 Beal, *Legend*, p. 96 ff.
344 *Mv.*, ii. 94.15.
345 ibid., ii.73.19-74.3
346 ibid., ii.74.12.
347 *LV.*, p. 101.
348 Csoma, *Life*, p. 47; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 19.
349 Beal, *Legend*, p. 91; Watters, op. cit., ii.p.4.
350 *Mv.*, ii.74.14.
351 *LV.*, p. 101.
352 *SNA.*, i.p.62.
353 *ApA.*, p. 56; Csoma, *Life*, p. 28.
354 *DPN., I.* p. 10.
355 *Mv.*, ii.75. 13-15.
356 Beal, *Records*, II. p. 17.
357 *LV.*, p. 108.
358 *BC.*, ii. 26.

359 Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 52.
360 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 110.
361 *JA.*, i. p. 56. But others say that he was either nineteen or twenty years old at that time. Beal, *Legend*, p. 79; *JAs.*, 1824, p. 18.
362 *Mv.*, i.153.6 ff.
363 *JA.*, i.p. 56.
364 *BC.*, ii.27.
365 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 65.
366 *Mv.*, ii.117. 15-21. cf. *MN.*, i.p. 213.
367 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 105; Thomas, *Life*, p. 51 ff.
368 Similar statements by Mahā-kāśyapa and Mahā-govinda are found in the *Mv.*, iii.50. 10-13, and iii. 217. 8-12.
369 ibid., ii.140. 3-166. 10.
370 *JA.*, i.p.60; Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 153-55.
371 *Mv.*, ii. 140. 3-5.
372 ibid., ii. 140.5.
373 ibid., ii.140. 7-21.
374 *LV.*, p. 145; Beal, *Legend*, p. 123.
375 *JA.*, i.p.57; *BC.*, ii.28; Beal, *Legend*, pp. 102-03; *LV.*, p. 139 ff.
376 cf. *mahatyā tṛṣṇayā duḥkhair garbheṇāsmi yayā dhṛtaḥ/*
tasyāḥ niṣphala-yatnāyāḥ kvāhaṃ mātuḥ kva sā mama// BC., vi. 45.
377 *Mv.*, ii.140.9, 19.
378 Vide, Thomas, *Life*, p. 52.
379 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 153.
380 *Mv.*, ii. 145. 1-3.
381 ibid., ii.141. 7-9.
382 ibid., ii.150.1.
383 *LV.*, p. 135.
384 *BC.*, iii.2.
385 *Mv.*, ii. 150. 2-6.
386 ibid., ii. 150.20 ff; *LV.*, p. 136; *BC.*, iii. 26.
387 *BC.*, iii. 54.
388 *Mv.*, ii. 151.6-8. In the *Av. Kalp.* the *bodhisattva* asks no questions, but expresses his extreme concern over the sight. *Av. Kalp.*, i.p. 180.
389 *Mv.*, ii.151. 8-9. cf. *BC.*, iii.36.
390 *Mv.*, ii. 152.15 ff; 154.14 ff.
391 ibid, ii.155. 9-10.
392 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 155.
393 Thomas, *Life*, p. 58.
394 *Gotama The Man*, pp. 18-21.
395 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 103-05.
396 *JA.*, i.p. 58 refers to such a point of disagreement. See also, Thomas, *History*, p. 133.
397 Kosambi, *Bhagavān Buddha*, pp. 97-103.
398 *Mv.*, ii.164. 14-15.
399 *JA.*, i.p. 58. But according to the *AbhiS.*, he returned to the palace after the meeting of the monk. Beal, *Legend*, p. 121.

400 *Mv.*, ii.157. 11-12.
401 ibid, ii.157.9.
402 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 24.
403 *JA.*, i.p.59.
404 *BC.*, v. 24.
405 *JA.*, i.p.59; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 157.
406 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 24.
407 *Mv.*, ii.157. 15-16.
408 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 24.
409 *Mv.*, ii.158.2.
410 *LV.*, p. 149.
411 *JA.*, i.p.61; *Mv.*, II.157. 20-158.1; *LV.*, p. 135.
412 *JA.*, i.p. 59.
413 *BC.*, v. 47 ff; *LV.*, p. 149; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 157.
414 25*th Centenary Volumes*, p. 10.
415 *Mv.*, ii.159. 11-12.
416 ibid, ii.159.4 ff; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 23.
417 Beal, *Legend*, p. 139.
418 Foucher, *The Buddha* p.75.
419 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 158; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 61.
420 *Mv.*, ii. 159.3.
421 ibid, ii.159.12.
422 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 158.
423 *Mv.*, i.157. 20-158.1.
424 ibid, ii.161. 3-4.
425 *BC.*, v.82.
426 *LV.*, p. 159.
427 *Mv.*, ii.161. 1-2.
428 *LV.*, p. 147.
429 *ApA.*, p. 57; Beal, *Legend*, p. 137.
430 *Mv.*, ii.158.14.
431 *ApA.*, p. 57.
432 *DN.*, ii.p.117.
433 *Mv.* ii.164. 8-11.
434 *JA.*, i.pp. 61-2.
435 *DN.*, ii.p. 95.
436 Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 63.
437 *Gautama The Man*, p. 22.
438 Thomas, *Life*, p. 58.
439 *Mv.*, ii.161. 17-18.
440 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 105.
441 *Mv.*, ii.164.18.
442 *JA.*, i.p.63. But the *ANA.*, p. 590 has Anopiya.
443 *LV.*, p. 163.
444 Beal, *Legend*, pp. 140, 153. Thomas suggests that Anupiya was the real name and other forms may be corruptions of it. *Life*, p. 61, note 1.
445 *Mv.*, ii.165. 1-2, 189.3.

446 ibid, ii.166.14.
447 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 160; *JA.*, i.p. 63.
448 *Mv.*, ii.189.2; LV., p. 165; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 26. According to the *AbhiS.*, Śuddhodana harshly abused even Kaṇṭhaka. Beal, *Legend*, p. 152.
449 *Mv.*, ii.194.8.
450 ibid, ii.191.1 ff; *KN.*, ii.p.114 ff.
451 *Mv.*, ii.165.18 f; *BC.*, vi.57; JA., i.p. 62. The AbhiS. differs to say that a deity appeared in the disguise of a hairdresser to offer his service in cutting hair. Beal, *Legend*, p. 144.
452 *ApA.*, p. 58.
453 *Mv.*, iii. 179. 7 ff.
454 ibid, ii.189.11.
455 ibid, ii.195.4.
456 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 27.
457 Hardy *Manual*, p. 162. cf. *SnA.*, p. 324.
458 *Pūjāvalī*, p. 248.
459 LV., p. 165.
460 The Pali account says that he spent a whole week in the mango grove. *JA.*, i.p. 63.
461 Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 125.
462 *LV.*, p. 174.
463 *BC.*, ix.2.
464 *ThigA.*, p. 38.
465 *Mv.*, ii.195.12 ff.
466 *BC.*, vii · Beal, *Legend*, pp. 152-61.
467 *Mv.*, ii.196.4-197.6.
468 ibid, ii.197. 16-17.
469 vide, Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 117.
470 *Mv.*, ii.198.1, 118.2.
471 Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 102. cf. *BC.*, xii. 18-82.
473 *LV.*, p. 174. cf. *Mv.*, ii.118.4.
474 *DPN.*, i.p. 296.
475 *DN.*, ii.p.101. See also, *DPN.*, i.pp. 296-7; Pande, *Studies*, p. 377.
476 *Mv.*, ii.119.8. Another tradition holds that he went to Rājagṛha after leaving Udraka. Beal, *Legend*, p. 177.
477 *Mv.*, ii.120. 16-17.
478 *LV.*, p. 180.
479 *Mv.*, ii.120.12-13.
480 *MN.*, i.p. 216.
481 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 97.
482 *Mv.*, iii. 63. 7-8.
483 ibid, ii.198.3-200.7 cf. *SN.*, iii.1; KN., i.p.329; *LV.*, pp. 175-79.
484 *Mv.*, ii. 198.9.
485 ibid, ii.200.1 ff; B.C., xi. 72.
486 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 162 ff.
487 *SnA*,. p. 325.
488 ibid, p. 327. See also, Csoma, *Life*, p. 30.

489 Beal, *Legend*, p. 103 ff.
490 *BC.*, x.25.
491 *Mv.*, iii.437. 6-8; *Mvg.*, p. 36; Beal, *Legend*, p. 180.
492 Winternitz., *HIL.*, II. p. 97.
493 Thomas, *Life*, p. 69.
494 vide, Pande, *Studies*, p. 60.
495 *SBE*, 32. Intro., xi and 45. p. 100.
496 It is certain, however, that the king became an *upāsaka* of the Buddha afterwards.
497 *JA.*, i.p.64; Mv., ii.123. 17-23.
498 *Mv.*, ii. 123.18ff.
499 See also *LV.*, pp. 181-2; *MN.*, i.p.216.
500 *Mv.*, ii. 207. 1-9.
501 ibid., 200. 17-202.7.
502 ibid, ii.201. 14-17
503 cf. *BC.* Chap. VIII 30 ff.
504 *Mv.*, iii. 117.21-125.2.
505 ibid ii.121. 1 ff. cf *LV.*, p. 181 f.
506 Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, pp. 134-9; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp.107-112.
507 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 9.
508 *Mv.*, ii.124.1, 10.
509 *MN.*, i.p.301 ff; *LV.*, pp. 182 4; *BC.*, xii. 94 ff.
510 *Mv.*, ii.124. 4-6.
511 ibid, ii.125. 3-5.
512 ibid., ii.125. 7-9.
513 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 101.
514 *Mv.*, ii.125. 15-16.
515 ibid, ii.126. 1-4.
516 Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 118.
517 Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 109.
518 *Mv.*, iii.331.2 ff.
519 *MN.*, i.pp. 109-114; *MNA.*, i.p.23.
520 *LV.*, p. 188; *MN.*, i.p. 304.
521 *LV.*, p. 183.
522 *ApA.*, p. 60.
523 *SnA.*, p. 328.
524 *ApA.*, p. 95.
525 *Mv.*, ii.207.9. ff.
526 *BC.*, viii.87; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 29.
527 *Mv.* ii.233. 4-9.
528 ibid,, ii.241. 5.
529 ibid, ii.231 7-13.
530 Supra, Chapter ii.
531 *Mv.*, ii. 130.15-18.
532 ibid., ii. 130. 20-131.1
533 ibid, ii.240. 18-241.
534 ibid., ii.240.18; 131.12-9

535 ibid., ii.241. 2-4
536 ibid,, ii.136.16 ff; JA., i.p.66. Some other authorities place these five dreams before Great Renunciation. LV.p. 135; Beal, *Legend* p.129.
537 See also *LV.*, p. 219.
538 *Mv.* ii.131.10.
539 ibid, ii.302.6 ff; LV., p. 195.
540 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 168.
541 *Mv.*, ii.131.12; Hardy, *Manual* p. 170.
542 Dutt, *The Buddha And Five After-centuries*, pp. 40-42.
543 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 87.
544 *MN.*, i.p. 216.
545 Sastri, Outline, p. 8.
546 *Mv.*, ii.268. 3-4.
547 ibid, iii.281. 4-10.
548 JA., Fausboll, iv. p. 228 ff; Kern, *Manual*, pp. 96-7.
549 ibid, ii.23. 10-11.
550 Hardy, *Manual.*, p. 170.
551 *Mv.*, ii.312.8 ff.
552 *JA.*, i.p. 69.
553 *Mv.*,ii.263. 6-8.
554 ibid, ii.404.3 ff.
555 ibid, ii.262.10 ff.
556 Beal, *Legend*, p. 206.
557 vide, Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 86 f; Thomas, *History*, p. 146.
558 supra, Chapter ii.p. 179.
559 supra, Chapter II.
560 *Mv.*, ii.131.16, 283.6 ff.
561 *LV.*, p. 279.
562 *Mvg.*, pp. 3-6.
563 *LV.*, p.276; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 32;Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 99 ff., Mv., iii.272.18 ff.
564 *Mv.*, iii.272. 19-20.
565 *JA.*, I. p. 74.
566 *Mv.*, iii.281. 4-6.
567 A *bodhisattva* is not supposed to harm even a tree that sheltered him for a while. supra, Chapter i.p. 50.
568 Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha*, p. 183.
569 *Mv.*, iii.286. 7-8.
570 Beal, *Legend*, p. 217.
571 *Mv.*, iii.286.7.
572 *Mv.*, iii.282.4 ff.
573 ibid, iii.283.13. The *LV.* records that the Buddha himself transformed them into hags as a punishment for their impudence. *LV.*, p. 275. But Pali Commentaries refute this view as unauthentic. *taṃ nana gahetabbaṃ. UdA.*, p. 70; *JA.*, i. p. 76.
574 *Mvg.*, p. 4.
575 *Mv.*, iii.300.14.

576 ibid, iii.
577 ibid, iii.302.20; BC., xv. 54.
578 *Mvg.*, p. 4.
579 *Mv.*, iii.303. 2-3.
580 ibid, iii.303.4.
581 In the Pali sources we find how alms offered under such compulsion were condemned.
582 *Mv.*, iii.304-4.
583 ibid, iii.304. 10-11.
584 Foucher, *The Buddha*, pp. 132-3.
585 *Mv.*, iii.304.18.
586 Beal, *Records*, i.p. 98 ff. What became of this relic afterwards is a mystery. It is recorded that once it was broken into pieces by Mihirakula, vide, Watters, op.cit., i.p. 203 and p. 289.
587 *Mv.*, iii.305. 1-310.6.
588 ibid, iii.310.7; *LV.*, p. 282; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 34. But the Pali tradition holds that they took refuge only in the Buddha and the *dharma*. *Mvg.*, p. 6.
589 *Mv.*, iii. 314. 9-12.
590 VinayaA., p. 153. cf. *DN.*, ii. p. 29.
591 *Mv.*, iii.314. 1-7.
592 ibid., iii.314.13 ff.
593 ibid., iii.315.8.
594 ibid., iii.316.12 ff.
595 ibid., iii.317. 15-16; Mvg., pp. 7-9.
596 JA., i.p.14; *Bv.*, ii. 55. See also, N. Dutt, *Aspects*, p. 100.
597 *Mv.*, III.311.8.
598 Beal, *Legend*, p. 194 f; *LV.*, p. 195.
599 *Divy.*, p. 125; Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 32; Csoma, *Life*, p. 31.
600 Mv., III.310. 17-311.1.
601 The Tibetan sources inform that it was a jambu fruit. Csoma, *Life*, p. 31. According to the Southern School, Śakra brought a tooth-stick and water for the Buddha to clean himself before accepting the merchants' offering. *SNA.*, vi.1.1. The confusion of the legend is reflected, it is interesting to note, in the remark that the tooth stick grew overnight to a huge tree. Our authority would have a great myrobalan tree in the locality. *Mv.*, iii.311.4.
602 Oldenberg points out that Māra's request and the Buddha's answer was dropped as in that case 'there would have been no opening left for the whole account of the dialogue with Brahmā'. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 117. note 1.
603 *VinayaA.*, p. 720.
604 *Mv.*, iii.318.12. cf. *MN.*, iii. 3.p. 31 where the Buddha says he preaches, not for gains of food and cloth, but purely out of compassion.
605 Mv., III.318. 14-15.
606 ibid, iii 327. 10-12.
607 ibid, iii.322.12. Chinese sources further state that he foresaw how Udraka would be reborn as a fox after 84,000 aeons, whereas Ārāḍa Kālāma was to be reborn in hell after 64,000 aeons. Beal, *Legend*, pp. 243-4; Watters, op.cit., ii. p. 143.

608 *ApA.*, p. 72; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 113 ff.
609 *Mv.*, III.322. 14-16, 20-21.
610 cf. *DN.*, ii.p.32 where Vipassi the Buddha is seen thinking of Khaṇḍa and Tissa in the same terms. (*paṇḍitā viyattā medhāvino dīgharattaṃ apparajakkhajātikā..*). The tradition represents the Buddha thinking of Ālāra and Udraka also in the same way: *imaṃ dhammaṃ khippaṃ ājānissati. ApA.*, p. 72.
611 *Mv.*, iii.325.2.
612 ibid, iii.325.5 ff.
613 ibid, iii.324.22-328.6.
614 ibid, iii.347. 14-348.14.
615 ibid, iii.325.3.
616 ibid, iii.325. 3-4.
617 *Mvg.*, p. 4. The Burmese authority gives his name as Maṅgalika. Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 104.
618 See also, *DPN.*, ii.p. 1328.
619 *Mv.*, iii.325.12.
620 ibid, iii.326.15, 19.
621 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 134.
622 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 137.
623 *Mvg.*, p. 4; *Mv.*, III.325.5.
624 UdA., p. 36.
625 *Mv.*, III.328.6; Beal, *Legend*, p. 246 ff; *LV.*, p. 297. The Southern School displays its knowledge of similar incidents. *Mvg.*, vi. 15.27. p. 245. See also, *Av.*, p. 68; *ThagA.*, p. 89.
626 This may mean that he had to go without food that day.
627 *Mv.*, III.328. 16-17.
628 *LV.*, p. 297.
629 *Mvg.*, p. 11.
630 *Mv.*, iii.329.4.
631 ibid, III.329. 5-7.
632 ibid, iii.333.19, 335. 8-9.
633 ibid, III.340.3-341.2.
634 supra, Chapter II.
635 *Mvg.*, I.9.30.p. Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 39; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 187.
636 *Mvg.*, p. 25; Beal, *Legend*, p. 287 ff.
637 *Mv.*, III.376.5. The Pali Vinaya speaks of a certain Aḍḍhakāsī, a renowned beauty who later joined the Order. *VinayaA.*, p. 125.
638 Buddhist literature contains a number of similar incidents wherein we find adherents attaining insight when their spiritual guides put this question. vide, *Visuddhi.*, p. 762.
639 *Mv.*, iii.58. 7-8.
640 ibid, III.439.9.
641 Mvg., p. 23.
642 *Mv.*, III. 421.4-7; Beal, *Legend*, p. 287.
643 ibid, iii.432. 5-6.
644 Foucher, *The Buddha*, pp. 161-2.
645 supra, Chapter ii. p. 144.

646 *Mv.*, III.406.14 ff.
647 ibid, iii.437.2-8, 440. 14-ff.
648 ibid, III.446. 9-449.11.
649 ibid, i.255.4; iii.47.12, 60.2, 91.14.
650 ibid, iii.90. 13.14.
651 ibid, iii.90.18 ff.
652 Hardy, *Manual*, p. 199; Bigandet, *Gaudama*, p. 169 ff.
653 *VinayaA.*, p. 750.
654 *Mv.*, III.92. 14-15. cf. iii.112.7.
655 *JA.*, i.p.82; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 199.
656 *Mv.*, III. 102. 13-14.
657 ibid, iii.114.14 f. See also, Kosambi, *Bhagvân Buddha*, pp. 82-3.
658 *Mv.*, iii.116.8 ff. According to the Mahā-karmavibhaṅga, it was Śuddhodana that had become blind. *BST.* No. 17, p. 194.
659 *Mv.*, iii.117.21-124.22.
660 ibid, iii.143.3 ff.
661 ibid, iii.176.12, 179.1 ff.
662 ibid, iii.181.14.
663 ibid, ii.139.3 ff.
664 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 156-7.
665 Thomas, *Life*, p. 128.
666 *Mv.*, I.4.13, 27.11, 29.13; iii.224.11, etc.
667 ibid, I.64.8 ff.

CHAPTER IV

1 *Mv.*, II.232.9.
2 ibid, i.236.11; ii.35.14; iii.89.6.
3 ibid, ii.341.22.
4 ibid, ii.346.21.
5 ibid, i.41.6 ff.
6 SBE., 49. p. 27.
7 ibid, i.339. 4-7.
8 ibid, i.52. 4-5.
9 ibid, ii.284. 12-13.
10 ibid, i.401, 80.9, etc.
11 ibid, i.80.10. cf. *SBE.*, 49. p. 143.
12 *Mv.*, i.6. 1-2; ii.300.19, 329.13, etc.
13 ibid, ii.281. 16-17, 301. 9-10.
14 ibid, ii.346.19.
15 Law, *India*, p. 2; *Mv.*, II.359.20, 346.20; i.166.14.
16 *Mv.*, i.296. 16-297.3.
17 ibid, i.99.1.
18 ibid, i.64. 10-11.
19 ibid, II. 158. 20-159. 1; i.49. 6-7.
20 ibid, i.6.3 -4.
21 ibid, i.126.12.

22 ibid, i.103.11.
23 ibid, iii.72. 18-19.
24 ibid, iii.357.10.
25 ibid, ii.23.10.
26 ibid, i.193. 18, etc.
27 ibid, ii.300. 19-20. cf. Divy., p. 134.
28 Law, *India*, p. 2.
29 Mv., ii.368.10.
30 ibid, ii.325. 19-20.
31 ibid, ii.92. 11-14.
32 ibid, ii.92. 15-16.
33 ibid, ii.232.10.
34 ibid,, iii.77.15.
35 ibid,, ii.92.17.
36 ibid, ii32 46.19; ii.34.11, etc.
37 ibid, ii. 34. 11.
38 ibid, ii.24 6.3-4
39 vide, Law, *India*, p. 9. f; Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 53 ff.
40 Law, India, p. 7
41 Mv., iii.78 12, 275.6, etc.
42 ibid, ii.15. 4.15. 275.6, etc.
43 ibid, iii.79.
44 *MNA.*, III. p. 917.
45 Pūjāvalī, p. 19.
46 *Mv.*, iii.208., 16.17
47 Cunningham; A.G.I.pp. 4-6.
48 *DN.*, ii.p. 157 ;Abhidh K., iii-53.
49 Mv., ii.136. 1
50 ibid, ii.101.16. Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 138.
51 Mv., ii.106.3ff.
52 ibid, iii.363.6. ff.,
53 ibid, iii.133.15 ff., 130.6; ii.106.11 ff.
54 ibid, iii.130.5.31.
55 ibid, iii.29.11, 31. 12.
56 ibid, ii.107.11.
57 Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 137.
58 Mv., ii.109.1 ff.
59 ibid, i.71.3.
60 ibid, ii.53.17; iii.130.4.
61 ibid, ii.205.11. vide, Law, *India*, p. 4; Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 40.
62 Mv., ii.210.2.
63 ibid, ii.65.1 ff; iii.42.11 f., 134.5.
64 ibid, i.283.20; ii.48.19.
65 ibid, II.210.2; iii.143.13.
66 ibid, ii.65. 1-2.
67 ibid, I.232.3.
68 ibid, ii.45.14-15.

69 ibid, III.382.16.
70 ibid, ii.30.9; iii.382.16.
71 ibid, III.145.19; 454. 1-2; See also, Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 139.
72 *Mv.*, iii.203.8; DNA., ii.p.462.
73 *Mv.*, iii.363.19.
74 ibid, III.328.10, 363.2; ii.103.3, etc.
75 ibid, ii.164.18.
76 ibid, II.262. 15-16.
77 Mvg., p. 216; Divy., p. 13; vide, Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, pp. 73-87; Law, *India*, pp. 19-21.
78 Upadhyaya, Bhugol, p. 79.
79 *Divy.*, p. 11; *Mv.*, iii.258.2, 390.8.
80 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 33; *Mv.*, I.171.14; Law, *India*, p. 83; *SBE.*, 45. p.241.
81 *Mv.*, ii. 37.14, 262. 15-16.
82 ibid, i.171.14.
83 Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 8, 10.
84 ibid, pp. 91-2.
85 Singh, *Life*, p. 237.
86 *Mv.*, iii.303.4 ff; ii.167.1 ff; Mvg., p. 288 ff; Gilgit, iii.2. p. 32 ff.
87 *Mv.*, ii.171. 3-5.
88 ibid, ii.175.3.
89 ibid, ii.175. 4-5.
90 *SBE.*, 12.p. 317, 341, etc.
91 *Mv.*, iii.350.8.
92 ibid, III.258.2.
93 ibid, iii.361.18, 390.8.
94 ibid, III.363.6.
95 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 18; Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 60.
96 Rhys Davids, BI., p. 18.
97 *Mv.*, ii.2.15-16.
98 ibid, i. 34.9-11.
99 ibid, 419.9-10.
100 Angane Lal, *Sanskrit Bauddha Sahitya men Bharatiya Jivan*, p. 23.
101 Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 25.
102 ibid, p. 343.
103 vide, Law, *India*, p. 19 ff.
104 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p.14.
105 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 154.
106 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 49.
107 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 230.
108 *Mv.*, ii.460.14; iii.143.13.
109 ibid, iii.295.4.
110 ibid, i.349.16; ii.101.12-13.
111 ibid, iii.350.3; i.289.11-12.
112 *DPN.*, ii.p.494.
113 Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, pp. 84, 159 f.
114 *Mv.*, i.198.14.

115 ibid, i.288.18, 286.22; iii.33.1 f., 125.10 f., 295.18 f; iii.361.4, 156.14.
116 ibid, i.289.1 ff.
117 vide, Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 346.
118 *Mv.*, iii.317.6, 443.12, etc.
119 *DPN.*, ii.p. 403.
120 Law, *India*, pp. 20-21.
121 Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 79.
122 *Mv.*, i.177.16; ii.56.6.
123 ibid, iii.442. 6-443.7.
124 ibid, iii.47. 11-12, 441.14 ff.
125 ibid, iii. 90.13.
126 *BC.*, x.2.
127 *Mv.*, i.70.15-18.
128 *Mv.*, ii.119.8 ff.
129 ibid, iii.347.16 ff.
130 ibid, iii.56.18.
131 ibid, iii.56. 6-13.
132 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 3.
133 *Mv.*, i.257.9.
134 Law, *India*, p. 125.
135 Mv., ii.207.5.
136 ibid, iii.421. 4-5.
137 ibid, iii.209.2.
138 ibid. iii.401.19; BC., xv.14.
139 Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 369.
140 ibid. p. 369; Mv , i,72,8; ii,42,5, 18,187, etc.
141 *Mv.* iii.286. 18-19.
142 ibid, i.235.18, 296.4, 286.5.
143 ibid, ii.82.9. vide, Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 63.
144 *Mv.*, ii.424.12.
145 ibid, iii.34.2-4.
146 ibid, ii.82.11.
147 Agrawala. *Pāṇini* p. 61.
148 *Mv.*, i.317.4, 326.10 ff.
149 ibid, i.310.6 ff.
150 ibid, iii.383. 14-16.
151 ibid, i.301.5 ff; 357.11; iii. 182.11. etc.
152 ibid, iii.330.17.
153 ibid, iii.328. 6-14.
154 ibid, ii.212.17; III.33.11. 357.4; II.177.10; I. 301.3 ff.
155 Wagle, *Society At The Time Of The Buddha*, p. 38.
156 Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, pp. 233-4.
157 *Mvg.*, p. 373 f.
158 *Mv.*, II.199.15.
159 ibid i.350.6.
160 ibid, i.245. 21-246.1.
161 ibid, iii.101.16-17.

162 ibid, i.259.15 ff.
163 ibid, i.264.14.
164 DPN ii.p.814.
165 Law, *Tribes*, p. 21 ff.
166 ibid p. 53.
167 *Mv.*, iii.421. 4-5.
168 ibid, II.76.8, 164.18.
169 ibid, i.65.16.
170 ibid, I.259.3.
171 ibid, i.259.2 ff.
172 Law, *India* p. 125.
173 *Mv.*, i.262.1 ff; DN.i ii.p.57 ff.
174 But the JA. mentions it at least in three *jātakas*. Mehta, op.cit. p. 55.
175 *Mv.*, ii.66.11.
176 Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 358.
177 *DPN.*, i.p.81.
178 Mehta, op.cit., p. 61 ff.
179 *Mv.*, ii.2.12.
180 Rhys Davids, *BI.* p. 3.
181 *Mv.*, ii.2. 12-13.
182 ibid, iii.208.19.
183 ibid, ii.30.7.
184 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 62.
185 *Gilgit*, III.2.p.19.
186 *Mv.*, iii.382.10.
187 *DPN.*, II.p.397.
188 supra, Chapter II.
189 *Mv.*, II.102.12.
190 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 55.
191 *Mv.*, II.94.20.
192 ibid, ii.112. 10-11.
193 *DPN.*, i.pp.641-2.
194 *Mv.*, iii.433.6.
195 supra, Chapter II.
196 ibid, iii.366.7.
197 ibid, iii.368.13 ff.
198 ibid, iii.432.11 f.
199 *Visuddhi.*, p. 16.
200 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 406-09; Mehta, op. cit., p. 32.
201 *Mv.*, III.26.20, 160.8, etc.
202 ibid, iii.40.10 ff.
203 Mehta, op. cit., p. 33.
204 *Mv.*, ii.441.7.
205 Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 421.
206 *SBE.*, 25. p. 247.
207 *Mv.*, iii.389.15.
208 ibid., i.34.11; iii.1.18.

209 ibid, iii.208.18.
210 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 39.
211 *Mv.*, iii.208.9.
212 ibid, iii.409. 17-18.
213 ibid, iii.457.16.
214 ibid, iii.41.14, 172.9 ff., 449.18 ff.
215 ibid, iii.383.17.
216 ibid, ii.83.15.
217 *JA.*, Fausboll, vi.p. 330.
218 Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 332.
219 *Gilgit*, III.2.p.13.
220 MN., i.p.277, Upadhyaya, *Bhugol*, p. 332.
221 *Mv.*, i.258.8.
222 ibid, iii.303.4.
223 ibid, iii.432.15.
224 Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 104 ff.
225 ibid., iii.361.4.
226 ibid, iii.313.3 ff.
227 Law, *India*, p. 110.
228 *Mv.*, i.178.10 ff; iii.361.12, 364.3.
229 ibid, iii.364.3 f.
230 ibid, iii.101.13; ii.206.13; *Divy.*, p. 243.
231 *Mv.*, i. 352. 4-5.
232 *JRAS.*, 1898. p. 535.
233 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.pp. 167-8; *DPN.*, i.p. 514.
234 *UdA.*, pp. 37, 166
235 *Mv.*, ii.157.2.
236 ibid, ii.35.17.
237 ibid, ii.74.4, 189. 15-16.
238 ibid, iii.111.20 ff.
239 ibid, i.355.3 ff.
240 ibid, i.355.7.
241 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 1; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 26.
242 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 183.
243 Mehta, op.cit., p. 79; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 184-5; *ERE.*, vii. p. 721 ff : Manorama, *Politics And Ethics*, pp. 108-110.
244 *Mv.*, i.347.17 ff. cf. *DN.*, iii.pp. 72-3. The account is, however, regarded to contain non-Āryan elements. vide, Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 24.
245 *Mv.*, i.347.10-11.
246 ibid, i.346.3.
247 ibid, i,348.5 ff. cf. *SBE.*, 14. p. 78; Manorama, op.cit., pp. 154-7; Angane Lal, op.cit., p. 16.
248 *Mv.*, i.278.7.
249 ibid, i.348.2.
250 ibid, iii.172. 13-14.
251 *ERE.*, vii. p. 720.
252 *Mv.*, ii.95.12, etc.

253 ibid, ii.273.17 ff.
254 Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 164. Even the Buddha's relationship with the rulers, in contrast with that of brahmins, displayed a similar trend, vide. Wagle, *Society At The Time Of The Buddha*, pp. 214-16.
255 *Mv.*, iii.191.16.
256 ibid, ii.168.8.
257 ibid, iii.441.9. Rhys Davids points out that the king granted not the land but the tilth due to the government as the yearly tax. *BI.*, p. 30. See also, *Cambridge History Of India*, I, p. 177 ff. *Mv.*, III, 164.2.
258 *Mv.*, i.274. 18-281.20. vide, Manorama, op.cit., p. 154 ff; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Chap. xxxii; Mehta, op. cit., pp. 126-9.
259 *Mv.*, i.276. 12-13.
260 ibid, i.280. 9-14.
261 ibid, i.281.6.
262 ibid, i.277.3.
263 ibid, i.366. 6-7.
264 ibid, i.279.15. vide, Manorama, op.cit., p. 214 f.
265 *Mv.*, i.272.3 ff; ii.424.15 ff. vide, Law, *India*, p. 167.
266 *Mv.*, ii.424.18.
267 ibid, i.272.7. ff.
268 ibid, ii.425.1 ff.
269 ibid, iii.145.20.
270 ibid, ii.491.4 ff; iii.40.10 ff.
271 ibid, iii.146.5.
272 ibid, ii.434. 11-15. See also, Mehta, op.cit., pp. 87-94.
273 ibid, ii.64. 14-16.
274 ibid, ii.435. 8-10.
275 ibid, i.51.14.
276 ibid, ii.64.16 ff.
277 ibid, ii.95.2-3; iii.152.11.
278 ibid, ii.95. 4-5.
279 ibid, iii.152. 1-13.
280 Manorama, op.cit., p. 106 ff.
281 *Mv.*, III.298.8 ff.
282 ibid, III.172.14.
283 ibid, iii.207.1.
284 *DNA.*, II.p. 469.
285 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 188.
286 Mehta, op. cit., p. 102.
287 *Mv.*, ii.158.3; iii.207.2 ff.
288 *MSV.*, ii p. 45.
289 *Mv.*, iii.158.3.
290 ibid, iii. 189. 3-4.
291 ibid, iii.188. 14-16.
292 ibid, iii.432. 14-15.
293 Mehta, op. cit., p. 100.
294 Mv., ii.70.2-3. cf. *JA.*, Fausboll, I., pp. 153-56.

295 ibid, ii.321.18.
296 ibid, i.276.3.
297 *Cambridge History Of India*, I, p. 257.
298 *Mv.*, ii.100.13.
299 ibid, iii.44.22.
300 ibid, ii277. 4-5.
301 ibid, iii. 44. 3-4.
302 ibid, iii.44.5-7.
303 ibid, iii.103. 15-104.6.
304 ibid, iii,163.2 ff., 165.3 ff., 39. 7-10.
305 ibid, ii.297.13.
306 ibid, iii.298. 1-4.
307 ibid, iii.297. 7-8.
308 ibid, ii.28.13.
309 ibid, ii.454,1 ff; iii 19.7; ii.36.4.
310 ibid, ii.448.16.
311 ibid, ii.36,18; iii. 21.15.
312 ibid, ii.424.14.
313 ibid, ii.426.19, 427.5, 460.1.
314 ibid, ii.47.4.
315 ibid, ii.31.11, 425.19; iii.2.6.
316 ibid, ii.27.13.
317 ibid, iii.13. 14-15.
318 ibid, iii.297.3.
319 ibid, ii.459. 10-11.
320 ibid, ii.446.14.
321 ibid, ii.446.15.
322 ibid, i.259.19.
323 ibid, ii.446.18; iii.10.11.
324 ibid, iii.11.7. ff.,
325 ibid, ii.446.17. 447.4.
326 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 275.
327 *Mv.*, iii.161.14.
328 ibid, iii.111.6.
329 ibid, i.277.8-10.
330 ibid, i.279. 5-6.
331 ibid, iii.181.17. 182.2.
332 ibid, iii.167.10.
333 ibid, ii.26.3; iii.297.3, 181.17, 182.1, 460.1, 111.16, 440.1, 131.19, etc.
334 ibid, i. 103.3.
335 ibid, ii.454.14.
336 ibid, ii.456.7.
337 ibid, iii.164.11.
338 ibid, ii.199.2.
339 ibid, ii.443.3,11.
340 Mehta, Op.cit., pp. 130-34.
341 *Mv.*, ii.441. 3-4.

342 ibid, iii.205. 1-2.
343 ibid, ii.424.19 ff.
344 ibid, iii.440.10 ff.
345 ibid, III.206. 4-5. See also, Law, *India*, p. 157.
346 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 231.
347 *Mv.*, i.364.5; iii.114.3, 44.21, etc.
348 ibid, iii.359.9-10.
349 ibid, iii.42.10, 44.21-22.
350 ibid, iii.297.3.
351 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* p. 258.
352 *Mv.*, II.167. 14-168.
353 ibid, I.16.11.
354 ibid, ii.282.1, 16-17.
355 ibid, III.130.14 ff.
356 ibid, ii.420.11, 461.3.
357 ibid, III.298.3.
358 ibid, iii.22.1 ff.
359 ibid, II.420.11 f.
360 ibid, ii.5.13; i.148.12; ii.339. 4-5.
361 ibid, ii.340.9.
362 *Mv.*, III.174. 2-3.
363 ibid, i.275. 1-2.
364 ibid, i96 7-8i
365 ibid, i.24.
366 ibid, iii7114i
367 ibid, i.18.2
368 ibid, ii.146.2-3
369 ibid, iii.258.14 ff.
370 ibid, i.84.2.
371 ibid, ii.390.6.
372 ibid, iii.166.15.
373 ibid, ii.168. 9-11.
374 ibid, ii.169.6.
375 ibid, iii.352. 18-19.
376 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 19. But Jayaswal says that the early Vedas know about monarchic system only. He finds the earliest reference to republics in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. vide, Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 21, 113.
377 Jawaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 4.
378 Manorama, op. cit., p. 174.
379 MW., *Dictionary*, p. 343.
380 Law, *Tribes*, p. 44; *Mv.*, i.295.15 ff.
381 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 13.
382 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 97.
383 vide, Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 49 f.
384 *Mv.*, II.37.12; iii. 101.15 ff.
385 *LV.*, p. 21.
386 But Upali was strongly retorted when he addressed Śuddhodana by name. Mv., III. 181.18.

387 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 430.
388 Manorama, op.cit., p. 176.
389 *Gilgit*, iii.2.p.7.
390 *Mv.*, i.257.13 ff.
391 ibid, i.354.20.
392 ibid, ii.28.16.
393 ibid, iii.176. 1-11.
394 DPN., ii.p. 781.
395 *Mv.*, iii.176.10. See also, *Manorama*, op.cit., p. 180.
396 Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 118 ff.
397 *Mv.*, i.354.20.
398 This is according to the Pali tradition.
399 *LV.*, p. 145. See also, Law, *Tribes*, pp. 192-3.
400 *Mv.*, iii.176. 12-13.
401 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 46.
402 *Mv.*, i.254.13 ff; iii.177.14.
403 ibid i.295.16 ff.
404 ibid, i.281.22
405 ibid ii.199. 16
406 ibid, ii.139.6. vide, Mehta, op.cit., p. 245 ff; Law, *India*, pp. 139-40; Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 33.
407 Law, *India*, p. 148.
408 *Mv.*, iii. 183. 1-3.
409 ibid, i.139.6; iii.491.18.
410 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 33.
411 *Mv.*, iii.40. 6 ff.
412 ibid, ii.30.8; 432.15.
413 ibid, i.340.9.
414 ibid, ii.395.13.
415 Law, *Tribes*, pp. 8, 150, 174, etc.
416 *Mv.*, i.197.12 ff; ii.1.4 ff.
417 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 38.
418 *Mv.*, iii.178.3 ff.
419 ibid, ii.463.1 ff.
420 ibid, i.231.18.
421 ibid, i.231.1 ff; ii.30.9 ff., 209.11 ff; iii.57.1.
422 ibid, iii.3.12.
423 ibid, i.319.14, etc.
424 vide, Wagle, *Society At The Time Of The Buddha*, pp. 18-19.
425 *Mv.*, i.150. 11-12.
426 ibid, ii.52.5.
427 ibid, ii.428. 18-19.
428 ibid, iii.50.14 f.
429 ibid, iii.56. 7-14.
430 ibid, i.309.4; ii.427.19; iii.3.12.
431 ibid, iii.172. 8-9.
432 ibid, ii.77.9-11.

433 ibid, iii.217. 13-14.
434 ibid, i.309.4.
435 ibid, ii.98.5.
436 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 35.
437 *Mv.*, ii.12.3; i.351.10 ff., 366. 10-11.
438 *JA.*, Fausboll, iii.p. 232; iv.p.328.
439 Mehta, op.cit., p. 246.
440 ibid, ii.272.7 ff.
441 ibid, i.36. 4-5.
442 ibid, ii.276.16; Divy., pp. 162-79.
443 *Mv.*. i.38.2 ff; iii.304.6 ff.
444 Sastri, *Gleanings*, p. 10.
445 *Mv.*, ii.59.2.
446 ibid, ii.178.2; Singh, *Life*, Intro., xix.
447 *Mv.*, i.321.11.
448 ibid, iii.181. 18-19.
449 Wagle, *Society At The Time Of The Buddha*, p. 138 f.
450 *Mv.*, i.327. 20-21, 329. 4-5.
451 ibid, iii.180.10.
452 ibid, ii.487.1.
453 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 34.
454 *Mv.*, ii.371.18
455 ibid, ii.487. 1-2; iii.21.13.
456 Mehta, op.cit., p. 261 ff.
457 *Mv.*, ii.173.1 ff.
458 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 31.
459 *Mv.*, ii.67.21-68.2.
460 ibid, ii.35. 18-36.1.
461 ibid, i.196. 11-15; iii.232. 5-9
462 Rhys Davids, *BI.*, p. 98.
463 *Mv.*, ii.150.2.
464 ibid, ii.115.9; iii.405.13.
465 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 100.
466 *Mv.*, ii.460. 14-15.
467 ibid, iii. 182. 11.
468 ibid, i.301.10.
469 ibid, ii.462. 5-6.
470 ibid, ii.429. 16-17.
471 ibid, iii.177.13-178.5.
472 ibid, ii.252. 13-14.
473 ibid, ii.214.20-215.1; iii.168.4
474 ibid, iii.389.17 ff.
475 ibid, ii.84.1 ff.
476 ibid, i.233.7.
477 ibid, iii.4.13.
478 ibid, iii.195. 6-10.
479 ibid, iii.296. 16-19.

480 ibid, ii.57.22-58.3.
481 ibid, ii.65.17.
482 ibid, iii.27. 7-8.
483 ibid, iii.357.16.
484 ibid, iii.196.1 ff.
485 ibid, ii.430.3 ff., 432. 1-2.
486 ibid, iii. 7.16.
497 ibid, iii.19.2., 17.2-3.
488 ibid, ii.80. 7-9.
489 ibid, ii.80.24 ff.
490 ibid, i.109.7.
491 ibid, iii.27. 14-15.
492 ibid, ii.444.7, 445. 3-5.
493 ibid, iii.222.12-13.
494 Wagle, *Society At The Time Of The Buddha*, p. 89.
495 *Mv.*, ii.233.4 ff.
496 ibid, iii.222. 3-4.
497 ibid, ii.69. 2-5.
498 ibid, ii.485.3; iii.296.7.
499 ibid, ii.174. 18-19.
500 ibid, ii.174. 13-14. Angane Lal thinks this to be a proof of the sati practice. Angane Lal, op.cit., p. 167.
501 *Mv.*, ii.432.10 ff.
502 ibid, ii.212.4; iii.130.8-12.
503 ibid, i.495.13.
504 ibid, i.199.16 ff.
505 ibid, ii.433.11; iii.405.6.
506 ibid, i.300.16.
507 ibid, ii.168.11.
508 ibid, ii.168. 12-13.
509 *DPN.*, i.p.50.
510 *Mv.*, iii.375.19 ff.
511 ibid, ii.169. 10-11.
512 ibid, iii.37. 6-8.
513 ibid, i.300.16.
514 ibid, ii.169.6 ff.
515 ibid, i.349. 1-2.
516 ibid, iii.390.5.
517 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 91.
518 *Mv.*, iii.151. 5-6.
519 ibid, iii.169. 2-7.
520 Foucher, *The Buddha*, p. 110.
521 *Mv.*, iii.149.14.
522 ibid, iii.149. 12-13.
523 ibid, ii.70.2.
524 ibid, iii.393. 18-20.
525 ibid, iii.393. 13-15.

526 ibid, iii.391.20, 392.14.
527 ibid, iii.49.21.
528 ibid, iii.403. 8-9.
529 ibid, ii.247.15, etc.
530 ibid, ii.169. 12-13.
531 ibid, iii.5.19.
532 ibid, ii.68. 12-13.
533 ibid, i.344.5.
534 ibid, i.366. 4-5.
535 JA., i.p.138.
536 *Mv.*, iii.360. 14-15; Mehta, op. cit., p. 185.
537 Sastri, *Gleanings*, p. 24.
538 *Mv.*, ii.216. 13-14.
539 ibid, ii.59.4.
540 ibid, ii.324. 20-21.
541 ibid, ii.59. 2-3.
542 ibid, ii.45.5.
543 ibid, iii.50. 14-15.
544 ibid, iii.178.3.
545 ibid, i.325.13, 345.16; ii.253.7, etc. See also, Singh, *Life*, p. 198.
546 Mv., ii.326.12.
547 ibid, ii.251.10, 432.16, etc.
548 ibid, i.249.11 f; iii.80. 14-17.
549 ibid, ii.60.16 ff.
550 ibid, ii.248. 3-4 and 15-17.
551 ibid, iii.301. 16-17.
552 ibid, i.249. 13-14; ii.160.13 ff., 248. 3-4; iii. 80. 1-13.
553 ibid, i.233.3, 249.10; ii. 109. 4-5.
554 ibid, i.25. 3-4.
555 ibid, ii.125. 4-5.
556 ibid, 251.2, 253.1.
557 ibid, ii.252.2.
558 ibid, ii.253. 17-18.
559 ibid, ii.241.16.
560 ibid, i.272.16 ff.
561 ibid, ii.253. 13-14.
562 ibid, iii.166.11.
563 ibid, ii.251. 5-6.
564 ibid, ii.235. 18-236.1.
565 ibid, ii.195.6.
566 ibid, ii.95. 9-10.
567 ibid, ii.96.13; i.132.5.
568 ibid, ii.213. 3-4.
569 ibid, ii.213.2.
570 ibid, ii.235.7.
571 ibid, i.20. 6-8.
572 ibid, ii.213. 7-9.

573 ibid, iii.113. 3-4.
574 ibid, iii.130. 17-18.
575 cf. *JA.*, Fausboll. IV. P. 91
576 ibid, i.131 6-7
577 ibid, iii.113.7 ff., 442.13 ff.
578 ibid, i.194.5 ff.
579 ibid, ii.88. 3-4.
580 ibid, ii.85. 19-20.
581 ibid, ii.86. 3-4.
582 ibid, ii.87.13; Singh, *Life*, p. 219.
583 Mv., ii.87. 14-15.
584 ibid, ii.468. 1-2.
585 ibid, ii.468.5.
586 ibid, ii.466.5.
587 Singh, *Life*, p. 226.
588 *MV.*, II. 330.3.
589 *Mv.*, iii.113.2 ff.
590 ibid, ii.150. 4-5.
591 ibid, ii.460. 16-17.
592 ibid, iii. 35.9 ff.
593 ibid, iii. 113.4.
594 ibid, ii.175.4.
595 ibid, i.207.14; ii.12.17; iii.178.19.
596 ibid, ii.27.2.
597 ibid, i.209.12 ff; ii.13.5 ff.
598 Singh, *Life*, p. 209.
599 *Mv.*, iii.191.11.
600 ibid, iii.289. 19-291.2.
601 vide, Mehta, op. cit., p. 222.
602 Singh, *Life*, p. 270.
603 *Mv.*, ii.173.2; iii.37.19.
604 ibid, ii.468.2; iii.467.4.
605 ibid, ii.468.2.
606 ibid, iii.328.7.
607 supra Chap. IV.
608 Srivastava, *Trade And Commerce*, p. 123.
609 ibid, p. 119 ff.
610 *Mv.*, iii.303. 9-10.
611 ibid, iii.71.7, 74.19.
612 ibid, i.132.8.
613 ibid, i.132.9.
614 ibid, ii.167.2.
615 ibid, i.132.10.
616 ibid, ii.167. 3-4.
617 ibid, i.245. 3-4; iii.286.19.
618 ibid, iii.286. 7-9.
619 Sastri, *Gleanings*, p. 19.

620 *Mv.*, ii.45. 5-6; Srivastava, *Trade And Commerce*, p. 143.
621 *Mv.*, iii. 303. 8-12.
622 ibid, iii. 68, 10.
623 ibid, iii. 67.18., 254. 1-2.
624 ibid, iii.357.2; i,245.4 ff.
625 ibid, iii. 78.5.
626 ibid, i.245. 8-10; iii.68. 2-4; Av., p. 12, etc.
627 ibid, i.245. 15-16.
628 *Mv.*, iii.73. 12-15.
629 ibid, iii. 78. 1-4.
630 ibid, iii.350. 11-12.
631 ibid, iii.286.19.
632 ibid, iii. 79.16.
633 vide, Srivastava, *Trade And Commerce*, p. 156 f.
634 supra, Chap. IV.
635 Mv., i.327.2-4. See also, Srivastava, *Trade And Commerce* p. 156.
636 Singh, *Life*, p. 259.
637 *Mv.*, iii.36.12.
638 ibid, i.233.4; ii.276.3, 380.1.
639 Law, *India*, p. 190.
640 *Mv.*, ii.490. 11-12; iii.24.8.
641 ibid, iii.42.4. vide, Mehta, op.cit., p. 234.
642 Srivastava, *Trade And Commerce*, pp. 158-9.
643 *Mv.*, ii.183.15.
644 ibid, ii.334. 22-335.1.
645 ibid, iii.142.18.
646 ibid, iii.145.20 ff.
647 ibid, iii.56.11.
648 ibid, i.354. 7-8.
649 ibid, iii.205.5 ff.
650 ibid, i.218.4; ii.20.3.
651 ibid, iii.154. 11-12.
652 ibid, i.220. 19-20; ii.32.20, etc.
653 ibid, ii.453.8 ff.
654 ibid, ii.32.10.
655 ibid, iii.405. 1-3.
656 ibid, iii.404.19.
657 ibid, i.227.4; iii.405.3.
658 ibid, ii.422.11, 433.8.
659 ibid, iii.394. 6-7; 155. 7-8.
660 ibid, ii. 30.8.
661 ibid, iii.263. 16-17.
662 ibid, ii.423.6, etc.
663 ibid, ii.154. 13-14.
664 ibid, ii.434. 1-2.
665 ibid, ii.423.14.
666 ibid, ii.434.11, etc.

667 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 283.
668 *Mv.*, ii.77.13.
669 cf. *Mug.*, p. 43.
670 *Mv.* ii.78.1. ff.
671 ibid, iii.393. 19-20.
672 ibid, ii.434.11, 14. etc.
673 ibid, i.232.2.
674 ibid, iii.209.11, 383. 4-5.
675 ibid, ii.90.7.
676 ibid, ii.209.11. vide, Agrawala *Pāṇini*, p. 84.
677 ibid, iii.220. 15-221.1.
678 *Mv.* iii.57.1, 383.2 2-4.
679 ibid, iii. 57. 3-4.
680 ibid, iii, 185.2.
681 ibid, iii.39.11.
682 ibid, ii.168.14, 16-19.
683 ibid, i.356.3 ff.
684 ibid, ii.490.9 ff.
685 ibid, i.351.3.
686 ibid, ii.88.18.
687 ibid, ii.90.4.
688 ibid, ii.440. 15-16.
689 ibid, iii.4.16-17.
690 Wagle, *Society At The Time Of The Buddha*, p. 98.
691 *Mv.*, ii.441.16.
692 ibid, ii.442. 1-2.
693 Mehta, op.cit., p. 280.
694 *Mv.*, ii.444.2 f.
695 ibid, iii.152. 2-3, 161.17.
696 ibid, iii.161. 16-17.
697 ibid, iii.150.21, 151. 2-3.
698 Singh, *Life*, p. 62.
699 *Mv.*, ii.490, 11-12; iii.40.11.
700 ibid, ii.209.13.
701 ibid, iii.26.21.
702 ibid, ii.85.16.
703 ibid, ii.111.11-12.
704 ibid, iii.393. 7-9.
705 ibid, ii.246.17.
706 ibid, i.38.8, etc.
707 ibid, ii.422.12.
708 ibid, ii.300.2.
709 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 100.
710 *Mv.*, iii.182.11.
711 ibid, III. 15. 13.
712 ibid, ii.116.12.
713 ibid, i.327.3; ii.116.12, 478.10.

714 ibid, ii.478.10; iii.70. 10-11.
715 ibid, iii.120. 21-23.
716 ibid, iii.165.4; i.329.13.
717 ibid, ii.478. 10-11.
718 ibid, iii.70. 12-13, 82. 1-2.
719 ibid, ii.95.8, 244.10.
720 ibid, i.17.1; ii.45. 6-7.
721 ibid, ii.45.7.
722 *JA.*, Fausboll,v.p. 163.
723 *Mv.*, iii.182. 10-11.
724 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 110.
725 *Mv.*, iii.113.9, 442.15.
726 ibid, ii.210. 10-11.
727 ibid, iii.305.2.
728 ibid, iii.304.4.
729 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p.250.
730 Mv., i.298. 3-4.
731 ibid, ii.274. 17-18.
732 ibid, ii.275.19.
733 ibid, iii.142.15.
734 ibid, ii.190.7; iii.158.9.
735 Agrawala, *Panini*, p. 109.
736 *Mv.*, iii.150.11.
737 ibid, iii.127.6.
738 ibid, iii.268. 12-13.
739 Mehta, op.cit., p. 197.
740 Singh, *Life*, p. 86.
741 *Mv.*, II., 171. 18.
742 *Mv.*, i.113.6 ff.
743 ibid, ii.15.9, etc.
744 ibid, i.340. 15-17.
745 ibid, ii.478.6.
746 ibid, ii.123. 1ff.
747 ibid, ii.274.8 ff.
748 ibid, ii.274.17.
749 ibid, iii.304.15.
750 ibid, i.325.14.
751 ibid, ii.156.1.
752 MW., *Dictionary*, p. 899.
753 Mv., i.99.4.
754 ibid, i.247. 8-11; iii.165.6, 177. 5-6.
755 ibid, iii.113.4.
756 ibid, iii.113.3, 442.10.
757 ibid, ii.109.10.
758 ibid, i. 171. 10-11, 172. 1-4.
759 ibid, ii.322.11.
760 ibid, ii.109.10, 186.1 ff; iii. 70.14 ff.

761 ibid, iii.113.3.
762 ibid, i.171.4.
763 ibid, i.194. 14-15.
764 ibid, ii.460. 16-17.
765 *Mv.*, ii.112.11.
766 ibid, iii.113. 3-5, 442.8-11.
767 ibid, iii.158. 8-10.
768 ibid, ii.171. 10-11.
769 ibid, iii.357.6 ff.
770 ibid, i.217. 4-6, 227. 13-15; iii. 149.19.
771 ibid, i.96.5.
772 Agrawala, *Pāṇini*, p. 159.
773 *Av.*, p. 134.
774 *Mv.*, ii. 18.9.
775 Singh, *Life*, p. 87.
776 Edgerton, *BHS.*, ii.p. 593.
777 *Mv.*, ii.75.18 ff. cf. LV., p. 102 ff.
778 *Mv.*, ii.75.20.
779 ibid, ii.76. 11-13.
780 ibid, iii.35. 9-10.
781 ibid, iii. 33 16-34 1.
782 ibid, iii. 390.8.
783 ibid, iii.391.18
784 ibid, i.231 11 ff.
785 ibid, iii.383.17.
786 ibid, iii.384. 1-2.
787 ibid, iii.184. 12-185. 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
(Including Abbreviations)

AbhidhK.	Abhidharma-kośa Vyākhyā, Pt. 1-2, Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-36
Agrawala, V. S.	India As Known To Pāṇini, Varanasi, 1963
Amarakośa.	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1963
AN.	Aṃguttara Nikāya, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1960
ANA.,	Aṃguttara-nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1923
Angane Lal,	Sanskrit Bauddha Sahitya men Bharatiya Jivan, Lucknow, 1967
ApA.	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1930
AsP.	Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 4, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1960
Av.	Avadāna-śataka, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 19, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1958
Av. Kalp.	Avadāna Kalpalatā, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 20 and no. 23, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1959
Basak, Radha Govinda.	Mahāvastu-avadāna, Pt. 1-3, Calcutta, 1963-68
BC.	Buddhacarita-mahākāvya, (Sinhala Translation) Pt. 1, Ven. Pandit Kataluwe Sri Dharmasri, Colombo, 1956 Buddhacarita Mahākāvya, Text with Hindi Translation, Surya Narain Chowdhuri, Purnea, 1955
Beal, Samuel. (Legend)	The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha, London, 1875 (English Translation of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra = AbhiS.)

(Records)	Buddhist Records Of The Western World, Delhi, 1969
Bigandet, P. (Gaudama)	The Life Or Legend Of Gaudama the Buddha of The Burmese, vol. 1-2, London, 1911-12
Bodhi.	Bodhicaryāvatāra, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 12, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 19
BST. No. 17	Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṅgraha, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1961
Bu-ston,	History Of Buddhism, Translated by E. Obermiller, Leipzig, 1931 (Reprint, Suzuki Foundation).
Bv.	Buddha-vaṃsa, Khuddaka Nikāya, vol. vii, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1959
BvA.	Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1922
Cambridge History Of India.	vol. i, Ancient India, Ed. E.J. Rapson, Delhi, 1955
Csöma, Korosy Alexander:	The Life And Teaching Of Buddha, Calcutta, 1957
Cunningham, A. (AGI)	Ancient Geography Of India, Varanasi,
(Bhilsa Topes)	The Bhilsa Topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India, Varanasi, 1966
Dbh.	Daśabhūmika-sūtra, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 7, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1967
De, Gokul Das. (Jātakas)	Significance And Importance of Jātakas, Calcutta, 1951
Dhammapada.	Khuddaka Nikāya, vol. i, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1959
DhA.	Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, Ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1956
Dharm.	Dharmasaṃgraha (BST. No. 17), Ed. P.L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1961

Divy. 9	Divyāvadāna,Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 20, Darbhanga, 1959
DN.	Dīgha Nikāya, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1958
DNA.	Dīgha-nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1918
DPN.	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, vol. 1-2, G.P. Malalasekara, London, 1960
Dutt, Nalinaksha. (Aspects)	Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism And Its Relation to Hīnayāna, London, 1930
(Buddhist Sects)	Buddhist Sects of India, Calcutta, 1970
Dutt, Sukumar.	The Buddha And Five After-Centuries, London, 1957
EB.	Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, vol. i-ii, Ed. G. P. Malalasekara, Colombo 1961-1967
Edgerton, Franklin (BHS)	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar And Dictionary, Delhi, 1970
Eliot, Charles.	Hinduism And Buddhism, vol. i-ii, London, 1968
ERE.	Encyclopaedia of Religion And Ethics, Ed. James Hastings, New York, 1959
Fausboll, V. (JA.)	The Jātaka Together With Its Comentary, vol. i-vii, London, 1962-1964
Faucher, A.	La Vie du Bouddha, D'apres Les Textes et Les Monuments de L'Inde, Paris, 1959
(The Buddha)	The Life of The Buddha, English Translation by S. B. Boas, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1963
	Les Vies Anterrieures du Bouddha, Paris, 1955
Gautama Buddha.	25th Centenary Volume, Ed. N. N. Law, Calcutta, 1956
Gilgit.	Gilgit Manuscripts, Ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, Calcutta, 1942-54
Grimm, George.	The Doctrine of The Buddha, The Religion of Reason, London, 1957

Gv.	Gaṇḍavyūha, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 5, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1960
Hanayama, Shinsho.	Bibliography on Buddhism, Tokyo, 1961
Har Dayal,	The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, Delhi, 1970
Hardy, Spencer R. (Manual)	A Manual of Buddhism, in Its Modern Development, Translated from Sinhala MSS., Varanasi, 1967
IA.	Indian Antiquary
JA.	Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1926-31
JA., Cowell	Jātaka Stories, vol. i-vi, E.B. Cowell, London, 1957
JAs.	Journal Asiatique
Jayaswal, K. P.	Hindu Polity, Bangalore, 1968
JM.	Jātaka-mālā, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 21, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1959
Jones, J. J.	The Mahāvastu (English Translation), vol. i-iii, London, 1949-1956
JP.	Jātaka Pāli, Pt. 1-2, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1959
JRAS.	Journal of The Royal Asiatique Society
Keith, A. B.	Buddhist Philosophy in India And Ceylon, Varanasi, 1963
Kern, R.	Manual of Indian Buddhism, Delhi, 1968
KN.	Khuddaka Nikāya, vol. i-vii, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1959
Kosambi, D.	Bhagavān Buddha, Sinhalà Translation by Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan and R. M. Mudiyanse, Colombo, 1968
Lamotte, E.	Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, Louvain, 1958
Law, B. C.	A Study on The Mahāvastu, Calcutta, 1930
	Buddhist Studies, Calcutta, 1931

(Heaven And Hell) Heaven And Hell in Buddhist Perspective, Calcutta, 1925

(India) India As Described in Early Texts of Buddhism And Jainism, London, 1925

(Tribes) Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1924

Ling, T. O. Buddhism And The Mythology of Evil, London, 1962

LV. Lalita-vistara, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 1, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1958

Mahabodhi The Mahabodhi Journal

Manorama, Jauhari. Politics And Ethics in Ancient India, Varanasi, 1968

Max Muller, Studies in Buddhism, Calcutta, 1953

Mehta, R. N. Pre-Buddhist India, Bombay, 1939

Milinda. The Questions of King Milinda, SBE., 35-36; Delhi, 1969

MN. Majjhima Nikāya, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1958

MNA. Majjhima-nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1921

MndA. Mahā-niddesa Aṭṭhakathā Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1921

MSV. Mūla-sarvāstivādī Vinaya-vastu, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 16, Ed. S. Bagchi, Darbhanga, 1967

Mvg. Mahāvagga Pāli, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1956

Mvy. Mahāvyutpatti, Dictionary of Buddhist Terms, Umai Vogihara

MW. Monier Williams, M., A Sanskrit English Dictionary, (New Edition), Delhi, 1970

(Buddhism) Buddhism, In Its Connexion With Brahmanism And Hinduism, And in Its Contrast With Christianity, Varanasi, 1964

Oldenberg, H. (Buddha)	Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order. English Translation by William Hoey, Delhi, 1971
Pande, G. C.	Studies in The Origins of Buddhism, Allahabad, 1957
Pūjāvalī.	Pūjāvaliya, Jinalankara Press, Colombo, 1932
PV.	Petavatthu, KN. ii. Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1959
PvA.	Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo,
Rahula, W.	What The Buddha Taught, Sinhala Translation by Siripala Lilaratna, Colombo, 1965
Rhys Davids, C. A. F. (Mrs).	Gotama The Man, London, 1928
	(With Shwe Zan Aung) Points Of Controversy, London, 1915
Rhys Davids, T. W.	Buddhism—Its History And Literature, New York, 1901
(BI)	Buddhist India, Calcutta, 1955
Rockhill, W. W.	The Life Of The Buddha And The Early History Of His Order, London, 1884
Samādh.	Samādhirāja-sūtra, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 2, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1962
Sangharaksita Bhikshu, (Survey)	A Survey Of Buddhism, Bangalore, 1966
Sastri, Ajay Mitra.	An Outline Of Early Buddhism, Varanasi, 1965
Sastri, N.	Gleanings On Social Life From The Avadānas, Calcutta, 1945
Śat. Brā.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, SBE., 12, 26, 41, 43, 44
SBE.	Sacred Books Of The East, Delhi, 1965
Śikṣ.	Śikṣā-samuccaya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 11, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1961

Singh, M. M. — Life In North-Eastern India In Pre-Mauryan Times, Delhi, 1967

SN. — Saṃyutta Nikāya, Ed. J. Kasyap, Nalanda, 1959

Sn. — Sutta-nipāta, Khuddaka Nikāya, vol. i, Nalanda, 1959

SNA — Saṃyutta-nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1924-1930

SnA. — Sutta-nipāta Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo,

SP. — Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 6, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1960

Srivastava, Balram. — Trade And Commerce In Ancient India (From the Earliest Times to c. A.D. 300), Varanasi, 1968

Suzuki, Mrs. B. I. — Mahayana Buddhism, London, 1948

ThagA. — Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1918

ThigA. — Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo,

Thomas, E. J. — The History Of Buddhist Thought, London, 1963

The Life Of Buddha, As Legend And History, London, 1931

Udāna. — Udāna Pāli Khuddaka Nikāya, vol. i, Nalanda, 1959

UdA. 9 — Udāna Aṭṭhakathā, Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1920

Upadhyaya, Bharat Singh, (Bhugol) — Buddha Kalin Bharatiya Bhugol, Prayag, 1961

VinayaA. — Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā, Ed. Ven. Paññālokāsabha, Colombo, 1917

Visuddhi. — The Path Of Purification (Visuddhamagga); English Translation by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, Colombo, 1956

Wagle, N. — Society At The Time Of The Buddha, Bombay, 1966

Warder, A. K. Indian Buddhism, Delhi, 1970

Watters, Thomas. On Yuvan Chwang's Travels In India, Ed. T. W. Rhys Davids And S. W. Bushell, Delhi, 1969

Winternitz, Maurice. (HIL) A History Of Indian Literature, vol. ii, Calcutta, 1933

INDEX

adbhutadharma 58, 80, 81, 89-90
Aggañña-sutta 83
Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya 97, 117, 147-9
alaṃkāras in Mv. 23ff.
Āmrapālī 122
Ānanda 76, 105, 132, 139, 143, 144
anātman 10, 33, 35-6
aṅga division of the canon 3, 80ff.
Ārāḍa Kālāma 248-50, 274
Ariyapariyesana-sutta 83
Asita 7, 203, 205ff., 216, 217, 234, 277, 344
asura 170-71, 173
Aśvajit 117, 127, 149
avadāna 2-3, 10, 11, 13, 122
Avalokana (or Avalokita) sūtra 11, 15, 48, 81, 83
avīci 156-8, 173
begging for alms 6, 41-2, 119
bhakti 52-3
bhūmis 62ff.
Bimbisāra 8, 10, 13, 44, 46, 117, 142, 188, 219, 251, 280ff., 297, 313
bodhisattva 7, 10, 11, 12, etc. concept of—49, 53 his career 54-62, going to evil states 60, his privileges 60, stages of his career 62-9, supernatural phenomena connected with his conception and birth 89-90, never commits an immoral act 101
brahmans against monks 123
Buddha his qualities 12-13, his image in Mv. 70ff., his supramundane character 73-5, magical powers of 92, above all disciples 128, birth 195-200, childhood and youth 202-31, renunciation 231-45, wanderings in search of truth 245-58, Enlightenment 259-63, his mission 263-85.
cakravartin 174-6, 178
caste not recognized in the Order 115
caste system 319-24
charity 47-8
'Come-Monk' formula 39, 141
Daśabhūmika-sūtra 54, 56
Devadatta 5, 102, 108-10, 113, 114, 119, 139-43, 211, 225, 228
Dharma 2, 39, 44-5, 48, 66-7, 173, 268, 271, 274
Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra 14, 26, 28, 38, 85
Dīpaṃkara (Buddha) 7, 54, 84, 120, 121, 204, 218
duḥkha see suffering
education 344-5
evolution of the world 124
faith 45, 131
festivals 125
gambling 354-5
gāthā 86-7, 109
geya 85
Ghaṭikāra 13, 45, 82, 122, 123, 166, 246, 342
Giriyagra-samāja 356
Hell 6, 82, 117, 128, 143, 153-60
Himālayas 22, 92, 93, 104, 107, 110, 150, 289ff.
Horāpāṭhaka 15
Jambudvīpa 286ff., 341, 352
janapadas Aṃga-Magadha 295-6, Kāśi-Kosala 297-9, Vajji-Malla 299-300, Vatsa-Avanti 300-301, Kuru-Pañcāla 301-02, Aśvaka (or Aśmaka) 302, Videha 302, Kaliṅga 302-03
jātakas 2, 3, 6, 8-10, 13, 14, 20, 52, 80, 88-9, 90ff., 149, 169
Jyotipāla-sūtra 82
Kālasūtra hell 155
Kaliṅga 92, 98, 303
kalpa 59-60, 76-7, 286-7
Kālodāyin see Udāyin

Kampilla 92
Kapilavastu 5, 7, 8, 74, 94, 105, 114, 116, 133, 134, 135. 137ff., 143, 188, 193, 202ff., 220, 229, 282ff., 303-04
karma 29, 30, 31, 32, 72, 154
Kāśī silk 336
Kāśyapas at Uruvilvā 5, 10, 12, 14, 85, 126, 277, 279ff.
Kāśyapa (Buddha) 82, 122, 123, 124
kāya 75-7
Khaḍgaviṣāṇa section-11, 85
king's role 305-12
king-makers 308
laity 43-8, 123, 151
Licchavis 13, 118, 167, 299, 317
Lokottaravādin 1, 5, 15, 69
Mahāgovindiya-sūtra 11, 81, 84
Mahākāśyapa 5, 6, 10, 76, 83, 130-32, 281, 321
Mahāsāṃghika 1, 70, 74
Mahāyāna 25, 49, 51-2, 62, 68, 69-79
Maitreya (Buddha) 85, 117, 132
Mira 12, 37, 41, 57, 83, 96, attempts to injure the *bodhisattva* in previous births 108-14, his daughters 113, personification of evil 177ff., the Buddha's personal enemy 179, 193, attempts to tempt the *bodhisattva* 243, 257-8, subject to rebirth 113, defeated 262-3, requests the Buddha to die 270
Maudgalyāyana 10, 14, 60, 85, 98, 116, 124-30, 159, 161, 166, 250, 278
Māyā 188ff., her dreams 192, endowed with extraordinary qualities 193-4, her death 200-02, her virginity 189
meat eating 335, 349
merit 96
miracles 44, 46
Mithilā 96, 117
monk's training 38-43
morality 41, 93
Mṛgadāva 119
music 353-4
nāgas 101, 171-2
Nālaka-sutta 85
Narakaparivarta-sūtra 81, 82, 157
nirvāṇa 30ff., 45, 47, 78, 96, 152
non-violence 48, 118, 239
Pabbajjā-sutta 85
Padhāna-sutta 85
pāramitā 62, 69, 117
Peluyākṣa 15
praṇidhāna 58-9
praitya-samutpāda 11, 33-5, 36
pratyeka-buddha 11, 48, 53, 55, 77, 78, 96, 115, 116, 117, 129, 152, 176
punishments 315ff.
Pūrṇa Kāśyapa 253
Rāhula (or -bhadra) 6, 10, 14, 39, 85, 99, 133-36, 225, 242, 245
Rājagṛha 122, 125, 126, 131, 200, 219, 247, 251, 281, 296, 325
republics 316-8
Rudraka (or Udraka) Rāmaputra 248-50, 274, 296
Sabhiya-sutta 85
Śakra 84, 94, 96, 108, 111, 112, 168, 170, 198, 268
Sañjaya 116, 126, 127, 282
Śāriputra 10, 14, 85, 114, 116, 124-9, 133, 142, 168, 250, 278, 343
singers 353
soma 353
Śrāvasti 121, 200, 285, 299, 325
Śuddhodana 8, 10, 93, 98, 115, 134, 135, 138, 189, 190, 195, 207, 210, 217ff., 225, 234ff., 282, 317
Sujātā 253, 259
Sundarananda 102, 137, 229
Surūpa 13
stūpa 56-7, 83, 97, 168
suffering 26-8, origin of- 28-30, cessation of- 30-32, path leading to the cessation of- 32-3
Takṣaśilā 99, 113, 293, 325, 337
Trapuṣa-Bhallika 46, 266-7, 273, 340
Tṛṣṇā 28-9, 30
Udāna 81, 87, 88, 274
Udāyin 105, 114, 137, 138, 200, 272, 282-3
Ujjhebhaka 15
Upaka (*ājīvaka*) 85, 274

Upāli 10, 115, 116, 138-9, 141, 246
Uppalavaṇṇā (or Utpalavarṇā) 106, 225
Vārāṇasī 38, 93, 99, 104, 145, 152, 273, 275ff., 298, 325, 337
Vaiśālī 6, 8, 82, 118, 122, 167, 173, 247, 299, 318, 330
Veluvana 281, 283
vinaya 1-6, 10, 25, 38ff., 119
women 326-32
Yaśoda 10, 14, 44, 85, 150-52, 167, 218, 277-8, 281
Yaśodharā 99-108, 113, 133, 134, 135, 136, 200, 223-5, 230-31, 242, 254, 284
yogācāra 15, 68

oooo

OUR IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS

	Rs.
The Blue Annals —*G. N. Roerich*	100
The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature—*Har Dayal*	40
Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary : 2 Vols. —*F. Edgerton*	200
Buddhist Sects in India —*Nalinaksha Dutt* (Cloth) Rs. 40 (Paper)	25
Buddhist Wisdom : The Mystery of the Self —*George Grimm*, Tr. by *Carroll Aikins*	25
The Buddha's Law Among the Birds —*Edward Conze*	15
The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux —*Satkari Mookerjee*	60
The Central Conception of Buddhism —*Th. Stcherbatsky*	12
The Conquest of Suffering —*Dr. Parwez J. K. Saher*	50
A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms —*W. E. Soothill & Lewis Hodous*	125
The Dialectical Method of Nagarjuna (Vigrahavyavartani) —*Kamaleswar Bhattacharya*	35
The Doctrine of the Buddha —*George Grimm*	35
Doctrine of the Jainas —*W. Schubring*	40
Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy —*Junjiro Takakusu*	30
Introduction to Buddhist Tantrica Systems *F. D. Lessing & A. Wayman*	55
The Jatakamala of Arya Sura —Eng. Tr. *J. S. Speyer*	30
The Jaina Philosophy of Non-Absolutism —*Satkari Mookerjee*	45
Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism —*J. K. Nariman*	50
Mahayana Buddhism —*Nalinaksha Dutt* (Cloth) Rs. 40 (Paper)	25
Megasthenes and Indian Religion —*Allan Dahlquist*	40
Monolithic Jinas —*José Pereira*	40
Philosophy and Psychology in the Abhidharma —*Herbert V. Guenther*	50
Siksha Samuccaya : Compiled by *Śāntideva* —*Cecil Bendall* and *W. H. D. Rouse*	30
Studies in the Origins of Buddhism —*G. C. Pande*	50
The Western Contributions to Buddhism —*William Peiris*	40
Women Under Primitive Buddhism —*I. B. Horner*	45
Yoga of the Guhyasamajatantra —*Alex Wayman*	100

296.382
K127C

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
Delhi :: Varanasi :: Patna

THE DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA

George Grimm

Revised and enlarged by the author himself, this presents the old genuine Buddha doctrine with the aim of developing a new type of man, free from prejudices and intent on working out his own future with his self as the light. It explains (1) Truth, Criterion, World and subject of suffering, (2) Truth of the arising of suffering, (3) Truth of the annihilation of suffering, (4) Truth of the path leading to the annihilation of suffering, in a cogent form, free from mythological overtones.

In addition to an *Introduction* dealing with queries 'Who was the Buddha?' "What is a Buddha?' and the method of handing down the 'Marvel', the *Appendix* deals with the Doctrine, the Metaphysics of the Buddha, Right cognition etc.; Contains Index of quotations from the Pāli texts, General Index, Index of proper names, Pāli and Sanskrit Index and an exhaustive Bibliography.

Delhi, 1973 *Rs.* 35

THE RISE OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM IN TIBET

Dr. (Mrs.) Eva Dargyay

This study presents and analyses the traditions of the Old School of Tibetan Buddhism i.e., the rnying-ma-pa. It is shown that the History of the Old School goes far beyond Padmasambhava; some sources hint at a non-Indian origin of some tantric cycles. — The whole tradition of the Old School is divided into two Lineages : One of the Pronouncements and the other of the Concealed Treasures. Each lineage is discussed in detail— more than twenty biographies of the famous masters of the Old School are tendered. The author's commentary on these facts and events aims at giving an impression of the spiritual life within the Old School and links the results of this study with the hitherto existing knowledge of facts and events, indispensable for understanding the thought and history of tantric Buddhism in Tibet.

First Edition : Delhi, 1977 *Rs.* 50

YOGA OF THE GUHYASAMĀJATANTRA

Alex Wayman

This work sheds light on its relation with previous literature including the Brahmanical tradition. The author has used the edited Sanskrit texts, the Pradīpoddyotana Ms, the relevant texts translated into Tibetan in the Kanjur and Tanjur, and thirteen Tibetan works on the Tantra by Tsong-Kha-pa, founder of the Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. He presents the forty Nidāna verses with commentary quoted in Sanskrit in the Pradīpoddyotana, and the Chs. 6, and 12 basic Tantra with some commentarial exposition. He provides introductions, including a translation of the Guhyasamāja Akṣobhyamaṇḍala. The special teaching of four-stage Yoga is given in appendices that develop the practical side.

First Edition : Delhi, 1977 *Rs.* 100

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
Delhi :: Varanasi :: Patna